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THE

COURT AND TIMES

OF

JAMES THE FIRST;

ILLUSTRATED BY

AUTHENTIC AND CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS,

FROM VARIOUS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

EDITED,

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"MEMOIRS OF SOPHIA DOROTHEA," ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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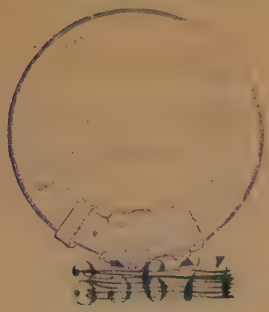

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THE

COURT AND TIMES

OF

JAMES THE FIRST.

[The following letter announces the death of Lord Chancellor Egerton, who died at York House, in the Strand, on the preceding 15th of March, after passing, step by step, to the highest honours of his profession. He had been solicitor-general in 1581; attorney-general, 1584; master of the Rolls, 1593; lord keeper and privy councillor, 1596. He enjoyed the confidence of Queen Elizabeth, who almost entirely left in his hands the suppression of Essex's conspiracy. James, also, appears to have entertained a high opinion of him; created him Baron Ellesmere, and appointed him his lord chancellor, and offered him, as we are told by Mr. Chamberlain, higher distinctions, some of which were ultimately conferred upon his son. Lord Ellesmere wrote two or three treatises on professional themes, which are still to be found in law libraries.]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 29, 1617.

Since my last to you, I have received yours of the 10th of this present; and the very same day I wrote,[1] the late lord chancellor left this world, being visited *in articulo mortis*, or not full half an hour before, by the new lord keeper, with a message from his majesty that he meant presently to bestow on him the title of the Earl of Bridge-

[1] 15th March.

water, to make him president of the council, and give him a pension of £3000 a-year during his life. But he was so far past, that no words or worldly comforts could work with him; but, only thanking his majesty for his gracious favour, said, these things were all to him but vanities. But his son, though he lay then (and so doth still), as it were, bound hand and foot with the gout, yet did not neglect this fair offer of the earldom, but hath solicited it ever since with hopeful success at first, the king having given order for the warrant, yet it sticks now, I know not where, unless it be that he must give down more milk, though, if all be true that is said, £20,000 was a fair sop before.

His father left a great estate, both in wealth and land; £12,000 a-year is the least that is talked of, and some speak of much more. Yet, withal, he left but an indifferent name, being accounted too sour, severe, and implacable, a great enemy to Parliament and the common law, only to maintain his own greatness, and the exorbitant jurisdiction of his court of chancery. He gave order in his will to have no solemn funeral, no monument, but to be buried in oblivion, alleging the precedents of Seneca, Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, and Budeus, the learned Frenchman, who all took the like course; so that, yesterday, he was carried down very quietly into Cheshire, to be laid by his first wife[1] and his son.[2] One thing is much noted in his will, that he gives nothing to the poor or any charitable use, nor to any of his servants, nor very little to his grandchildren, but left all to his son.

Sir Edward Noel is newly made a baron,[3] by patent, which being a more easy way than by creation, or investiture, it is doubted that in time we shall have more than enough. He hath sold his manor of Dolby, in Leicestershire, being his patrimony and dwelling, to the Earl of Buckingham for £29,000, and lies in wait to buy barley of the Lady of Bedford, whereon he hath lent money already, and so plant himself altogether in Rutlandshire.

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Ravenscroft, of Bretton, in Flintshire, Esq.
[2] Sir Thomas Egerton.
[3] Lord Noel, of Ridlington, in Rutland.

The Lord Hay was the last week sworn of the council, at Royston, as I take it; and it is expected that the Earl of Montgomery shall not tarry long after him. The king is now at Lincoln, whither Mr. Vice-chamberlain went on Thursday, to take his leave for Spain, and it is generally bruited that he shall be made a viscount.

The Lord Roos is come home, and gone to the king. The greatest matter I hear of his message is, that the King of Spain gave him a jewel of £5000, and yet he will not gain by the bargain. The business with Spain goes on, they say, the king, queen, and prince, being very well affected to it, and commissioners appointed to consider of it, the lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord privy seal, Duke of Lennox, bishop of Ely, vice-chamberlain, chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Thomas Lake. The archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Comptroller,[1] and Sir Ralph Winwood, are excepted and left out, as openly opposite.

At the parting from the king at Huntingdon, Secretary Winwood was appointed to be at Edinburgh the 20th of July. He hath lately gotten the keeping of Ditton Park, to him and his heirs male, and £500 for his charges in reparations and alterations since his coming to it.

The Virginian woman, whose picture I sent you, died this last week, at Gravesend, as she was returning homeward. Our prentices that committed the disorders on Shrove Tuesday have been arraigned and acquitted for their lives, but found guilty of a foul riot, and some of them fined in sums they can never pay, and to imprisonment for a year, two, or three, according to the greatness of their offence.

Sir Walter Raleigh took his leave, yesternight, of Mr. Secretary, and goes this morning towards Dover, where he hopes to find his ship, though his followers are yet in the river, and make no great haste after him. He makes away with all the speed he can, for fear of a countermand, by reason of some message brought by the Lord Roos, and of Mr. Vice-chamberlain's going to court now his friends be away. And it is observed, that the prince is no friend

[1] Sir Thomas Edmondes.

to the journey,[1] but hindered the queen from going to see his ship, as she had appointed on Wednesday last. God knows, there needs no such great working to overthrow the voyage. For aught I can understand, I fear he doth but go, as children are wont to tell their tales, to seek his fortune.

I had almost forgotten, that on Monday, the 27th of this month, being the king's day, the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord keeper, lord privy seal, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Hay, the comptroller, Secretary Winwood, the master of the Rolls, with divers other great men, were at Paul's Cross, and heard Donne, who made there a dainty sermon upon the 11th verse of the 22d of Proverbs, and was exceedingly well liked generally, the rather for that he did Queen Elizabeth great right, and held himself close to the text, without flattering the time too much.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 5, 1617.

I am so ill stored of anything worthy of your reading, that I had not written this week, but that Mr. Sherburn told me, two days since, that auditor Stanley, his father-in-law, is lately dead, who, being bound to you in £1000 for his true and just dealing, you will do well to bethink yourself what course you will take hereafter with him, and what security you demand and expect. I perceive, by his speeches, that he can hardly procure any one sufficient friend for so great a sum, but makes account of five or six several men, if need be, for £100 apiece; or else you may, from time to time, appoint him where to dispose or deliver your moneys so soon as they come to his hands. He told me, withal, that some friends of his, without his privity, had recommended him to the new lord keeper's service; who, having accepted of him, he could not refuse or start back. I had an inkling of such a matter about the beginning of the week, that he was seen

[1] He was no friend to Raleigh, we believe, simply because his brother had been.

much about my lord, and that he was toward him. But, for aught I can learn, he is but at large, and says it shall be no way to the prejudice of your service to have some dependence on him, who may stand him in stead for the place he pretends at York, and, as occasion serves, further him in anything that may concern you or your affairs.

Sir John Bennet set forth, yesterday, toward Margate, accompanied, besides his two sons and young Sir Henry Butler, by Dr. Duck, and Mr. Brent, who means to take the Hague in his return; and from him you may have the whole story, whatsoever the journey affords. On Sunday, Sir John Bennet invited the Lord Hay, Mr. Comptroller,[1] and Mr. Secretary, to a poor, pitiful supper, if all were as Sir Thomas Edmondes related it to me, the next night, at Mr. Secretary's, and as John West confirmed it; who, poor man, was extremely sorry to see him invite such friends, to shame himself, and to make show what a hand his wife had over him. The Lady Winwood was solemnly invited, but had no stomach to go.

Since the king's going hence, the council have been at good leisure to go a feasting; so that, beginning with the bishop of London, the 24th of the last month, they were on Tuesday bountifully entertained by the master of the Rolls,[2] and are to be the 8th of this present with the archbishop of Canterbury, and so forward as it falls out. This day the king goes to Newark.

The Lord Hay is yet here, plotting where to get his two barons the king hath bestowed upon him, whereof Sir Edward Carr of Lincolnshire is named to be one. Abercrombie, a dancing, Scottish courtier, hath gotten, likewise, the making of two Irish barons. And the dignity of baronets is not yet become so bare, but that are lately come in one Egerton, of Cheshire, and Townshend,[3] of Norfolk.

The speech goes, that the Lord Compton is in a fair way to be made Earl of Northampton. Here is a suspicion

[1] Sir Thomas Edmondes. [2] Sir Julius Cæsar.

[3] Roger, who died January 1, 1636. He was the eldest son of Sir John Townshend, who fought the duel on horseback, on Hounslow Heath, with Sir Matthew Brown, which ended in the death of both combatants.

that the old Countess of Pembroke[1] is married to Dr. Lister, that was with her at Spa. This week, Sir Michael Dormer sent me a legacy, bequeathed by his lady, which was a purse, with forty fair Edward shillings. The lord keeper removes this week to Dorset House, whereof he hath the use, gratis, till Michaelmas,

---

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 19, 1617.

About this day sevennight, I received your letter of the last of March, which was some days after I had written to your brother, Carleton, to see what might be done about Sir Michael Dormer's antique heads, and I doubt not but you shall understand from him what they are and of what esteem. He wrote to me upon occasion of conveying his last letter to you, and would fain tempt me to a journey to the Spa with him, being lately overtaken with an infirmity, which he suspects to be the stone, but, I thank God, I feel no inclination to that disease. And though I did, yet I should be twice advised before I adventured on that cure at his age; for I do verily think it overthrew Sir Rowland Lytton, for he did even sensibly decay presently upon his return thence, both in body and mind. It may prove well with younger folks that have stronger stomachs and a firm constitution, but I have no belief in it for elder people. But it may be a good errand for him as well as for his health to visit you in his return. His son is not gone with the king, as he was borne in hand he should, which, in mine opinion, falls out never the worse for him, seeing that by staying he makes at least a saving bargain.

The king is this day at Durham; and, if their weather be answerable to ours here, as they say it is worse, they have but a cold, comfortless journey, more than the king himself goes on very cheerfully, and is very much fallen in love with the country about Lincoln, so that he means henceforward to spend the greater part of the winter there. At Worksop, in Nottinghamshire, he dated a pro-

[1] Mary, daughter of Sir Edward Sidney, sister of Sir Philip Sidney. She lived to a great age, dying September 25, 1621.

clamation, that came forth this week, that all gentlemen of quality should leave this town, and repair to their own habitations.

The greatest part of the prime Scots are here still, and make no great haste homeward, which perhaps may be for want of *moyens*, as they call it, to carry them along and show themselves in equipage among their country-folks. Indeed, for all these sums of money that have been borrowed, we are still in great straits, and payments are made very slowly, even where there is great need; so that it comes well to pass that you have gotten your provision, though Burlamachi have a brunt of hard words, and were shrewdly shant for it. But I marvel how we shall do hereafter, when upon such a flush we are already come to so low an ebb. But now gifts and daily warrants, under the privy signet, do alter the course of orderly payments, and disorder all.

John Murray, tarrying behind to fill the privy purse, is in danger to tarry here still, being very sick, if not dead. The Lord Hunsdon[1] died some ten days since, and we hear the like of the Lord Audley, alias Earl of Castlehaven,[2] in Ireland, as likewise Sir Charles Cavendish,[3] and one Warre, a towardly lawyer, that was drowned coming from an island he had purchased in the Severn.

One Drope, of Magdalen College, is called in question for a sermon at Paul's Cross, on Sunday was fortnight, wherein, out of the Proverbs, amongst other things, he would prove that kings might steal as well as meaner men, both by borrowing and not paying, and by laying unreasonable and undue impositions upon their subjects.[4]

I know not whether I wrote you that one Onlay, a young dancing reveller, of the Temple, resorting much to Sir Richard Farmer's lady, that lies here in town, with a pocket pistol, charged, it so fell out (whether by mischance or otherwise), that she shot him through, of which hurt he died on Monday last, after he had lain eight or nine days.

[1] Sir John Carey, warden of the East Marches, towards Scotland, third baron.
[2] George Touchet. He had lately been created an earl.
[3] Father of Sir William, eventually Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle, the great Royalist commander in the Civil Wars.
[4] A sermon very much called for.

The coroner's inquest gave up a doubtful verdict; so that, being carried to the Marshalsea, she was bailed thence by the Earl of Argyle,[1] that married her sister,[2] Sir William Sands, another of her brothers'-in-law, and Sir Basil Brooke.

Here is speech of a blazing star that hath been seen this sevennight; though I be usually late enough abroad, yet it hath not been my luck to light upon it.

On Thursday night, Mr. Comptroller remembered your health at Mr. Secretary's, where he made us stay supper for him till almost nine o'clock.

Yesternight, Mr. Secretary told us great news, that the Marquis d'Anore should be stabbed in the king's chamber, and by his commandment. But, because the news came not from the fountain, but only from Calais, I know not what credit to give it, seeing that we have so many idle tales here at home, as it was generally bruited here the last week, that the Earl of Buckingham should be dead suddenly. The like of my Lord Rich and the Lord Chief Justice Montague, who indeed, a pretty while after that rumour, fell sick at Exeter, and was in great danger. But they say he is recovered, and no doubt will recover many slanders that would have run of him if he had died, as specially one much spoke of by occasion of a captain or master cutpurse executed here the last week, who had been often in prison and often reprieved, and gave out before his death, that he had been a good milch cow to Dixon, his man, and him, when he was recorder, and that he had yielded £200 a-year between them for divers years.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 10, 1617.

The Easter-week, I made a journey to Ware Park, and visited your friends at Gilston, being not far off, at the christening of my Lady Fanshawe's daughter's son. The grandfather of the child is sheriff of the shire, which made

[1] Archibald, seventh earl, who had served with reputation in the wars of Spain. He died in 1638.

[2] Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwallis, of Brome, in Suffolk, the earl's second wife.

the assembly the greater; and a glad man he was to see such hope of heirs, having before but one son. We came to town after the old manner, the day before term; and the rather to see the new lord keeper[1] ride in pomp to Westminster, as he did the next day, accompanied by most of the council and nobility, with other gallants, to the number of more than 200 horse, besides the judges and inns of court. There is a great deal more bravery and better show of horse than was expected in the king's absence; but both queen and prince sent all their followers, and his other friends did their best to honour him. He made a speech in Chancery; the substance of which was of some reformation in that court, not without glancing at his predecessor, whose beginnings he professed he would follow; but excepted against some of his later courses; yet would not undo anything he had done. He pleased himself much in the flourishing of the law; and [remarked] that great lawyers' sons have the way to succeed their fathers; instancing in himself, Mr. Attorney-General,[2] Solicitor.[3] * *

The greatest part of his train dined with him that day, which dinner cost him, as is generally reported, £700. Wherein he followed not his pattern, whom he seemed so much to approve. For, dining the week before with the rest of the council at Secretary Winwood's, besides all other good words and commendations of that entertainment, both he and the Earl of Worcester, whose turns came to feast next, sent to entreat to have the bill of cates and the same cooks. But sure, for aught I can learn since I came, the expense of that dinner was in no sort proportionate to that sum. And one thing was then well remembered—to invite the Archbishop of Spalato, which hath so continued ever since. But now the *primus motor* of this feasting, Mr. Comptroller,[4] is taking his leave of this town, and sets out this day towards France, carrying letters of congratulation from the king for the good issues of the late blow there, which is so generally allowed that he is held for more than half Spanish that doth any way contradict it, and so much, in a manner, in plain terms, did

[1] Bacon. [2] Sir Henry Yelverton. [3] Mr. Coventry.
[4] Sir Thomas Edmondes.

Mr. Comptroller tell Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, in good company, as they were in dispute of it, and but for Mr. Secretary, it was doubted they had proceeded further. But sure all cards cast as the game lay, there was no other play; for, as the king was hampered by his mother and her instruments, there was no other way to untie the knot, but to cut it, and so despatch all *en un coup*. I must confess it is *de mauvais exemple;* but necessity hath no law, if *salus populi* be *suprema lex*, in this case, *salus regis* was included too, and we see that the success hitherto doth even, as it were, visibly crown this work. Once Mr. Comptroller hath order to tell Monsieur Vitri that he hath a happy hand.

On Easter-Monday, all the council went to the Spital Sermon, and dined with the lord mayor; but the day I went out of town I heard that Dr. Page,[1] that made the sermon, was committed for speaking too broadly against the Spanish match. I know not how to procure a copy of Dr. Donne's sermon if it come not in print, but I will inquire after it.

Our 'prentices, or unruly people, had cast out many cartels and libels, as they meant to do some strange matters on May-day, and did animate one another by all ways they could. But there was so good order taken to repress them, that they durst not adventure.

Sir Maurice Berkley is lately dead, and as I hear, far indebted. Sir John Poultney, and Sir Drue Drury, are gone the same way. The king is now at Berwick, and the next week will be at Edinburgh. I hear that the Archbishop of York (or, at leastwise, his wife) hath obtained of the king, that their son, Tobie Matthew, may return; but yet so that he is to be under some restraint. I hear, likewise, that Mr. William Becher, upon Mr. Comptroller's return, shall reside as agent in France till another ambassador be thought upon.

I have not seen Mr. Sherburn since my coming to town, but when we meet I will confer with him about your business. Indeed, I have not been much in my wonted walks, but by reason Mr. Secretary is at so good leisure, I am most

[1] Probably Samuel Page, Vicar of Deptford, in Kent, an eminent preacher.

there. On Wednesday night, he made a feast to Mr. Comptroller, for his farewell, which held us till after midnight, and had no guests but those he named. I have not seen a finer supper for so little a company, there being no more but the Lady of Arundel, the Lady Grey [1] of Ruthen, the Lady Windsor, the Lady Wood, his little daughter, Sir Horace Vere, Sir Thomas Tracy, and myself. The next day we went to Highgate, and yesternight late we parted with him, being to take his leave of the queen to-day, in his way. She threatened to make him a feast, but he goes in such haste that he cannot tarry for it. The lord treasurer [2] hath been at none of these feasts, but tells that at his return he will have it altered into suppers, and then he will make one, for he dines not.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, March 10-20, 1616-17.[3]

The right course for the States-General in their religious disputes, would be a Synod asking the advice of their Reformed Churches.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, May 19-29, 1617.

Now at length we are in hope to recover land by the help of a Synod, which with much importunity the States of Holland have taken into deliberation, after many years rejecting the same.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 24, 1617.

Your letter of the 7th of this present came to my hands on Monday last by your man, whom I have not seen since, nor Mr. Sherburn many a day. It seems he makes good use of his service, that he is so doubly diligent, or else perhaps seeing the disputes 'twixt his lord and our good

[1] Susan, sister and heir to Henry Grey, Earl of Kent, and wife of Sir Michael Longueville, Knight.

[2] Earl of Suffolk.

[3] This date is according to both styles.

friend daily to increase, he abstains of purpose. For I can make no other construction, being not far out of his way as he goes outward or homeward.

I cannot yet bethink myself of any fit man for your turn but Mr. Pory, who hath leisure enough for aught I know; and not long since he had a meaning to make a journey to you, and desired I would procure him a packet, or some other employment, to bear his charge. I did what he required; but either he hath changed his mind, or else he is not so hasty as he made show of, for he speaks no more of it. I have not seen him since I received your letter, but when I do, I will spur him to the journey, without any word of what you have written, and when you have him there, you may do with him as you see cause. In the mean time, if I can light on any other, I will give you notice.

Mr. Brent arrived here this week with his charge, young Sir H. Butler, who is to overtake Mr. Vice-Chancellor and go with him into Spain, which may prove a good voyage for him in curing the disease of drinking, which, as young as he is, they say he is much given to. Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Edward Bird, the doctor, are returned out of Jersey, whither they were employed to compound the difference 'twixt the governor and the inhabitants. They have not yet made their relation, but I hear they approve St. Sauveur for a very honest man.

Mr. Tobie Matthew is come, and was last night at Mr. Secretary's, who called me out of the garden into his gallery to salute him. He used him kindly, and dealt earnestly with him to take the oath of allegiance; but, as far as I could conceive, it was lost labour; though he told him that, without doing it, he is verily of opinion that the king will not endure him long here. But, perhaps, he presumes upon the lord keeper's favour, which indeed is very great now at first, if it continue, for he lodgeth him in York House, and carries him the next week along with him to his house at Gorhambury, near St. Albans.

The rest of the council go likewise, every one their own way; saving good words, the king gave them thanks for their forwardness in this loan of £100,000, which he bor-

rowed of the city, though it be not yet raised; but it must be done *volens nolens*, and they call in very mean men to help to bear the burthen. Sir Noel Carew hath likewise made offer of £20,000, from the strangers of the Netherlands; £60,000 there is made underhand of jewels, and the farmers are engaged for £50,000. Other provisions there be, yet it is feared all will scant serve.

There were two christenings in the chapel at Whitehall this week; the first on Tuesday, of a son of the Lord Haddington's, where the king, the Earl of Southampton, and the Countess of Bedford, were gossips. The other on Thursday, of a son of the Lady Fielding's,[1] sister to the Earl of Buckingham, who was partner with the king and the same Lady of Bedford in that business.

The king this week compounded the controversy 'twixt the Earls of Cumberland and Dorset in this manner: that Cumberland should enjoy the lands in suit, paying £20,000 to Dorset in two years, or, if the Countess of Dorset[2] should outlive her husband and molest her kinsman, that Dorset hath bound sufficient lands for her repayment. Two days since the king gave the Lady Walsingham[3] £1000, for what service I know not.

This day was appointed to set forward for Scotland, but because it falls out this year, forsooth, to be a dismal day, the king, queen, and prince, removed yesterday to Theobalds. On Monday, the queen accompanies him to Ware, and then returns. The prince, lord treasurer, and Secretary Winwood, go so far as Huntingdon. It is set down that Mr. Secretary should follow into Scotland about the middle of May, if no alteration come in the mean time.

We have little out of Scotland since the king's being there, only here is an idle report, that the King of Denmark should be come thither.

Some speech there is likewise, how the burghers of Edinburgh received him in scarlet gowns, and more than 100 in velvet coats and chains of gold, and 300 musketeers

[1] Susan, married to Sir William Fielding, created Viscount Fielding in 1620, and Earl of Denbigh in 1622.

[2] Anne, daughter of George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, and wife of Richard Earl of Dorset.

[3] Widow of Sir Francis.

in white satin doublets and velvet hose, and that they presented him with 10,000 marks in gold. But these things, it is like, you shall have sooner there than we, for the king hath given order for cherries and other fruit to come over to him from those parts, as being the shorter cut.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, June 3-13, 1617.

Mr. Morton passed this way on Monday last from Heidelberg, to find the king in Scotland; which errand he hath picked out of a letter from Fabritio, wherein he advertiseth some matter of danger to the king's person, and withal hath sent a certain Jesuit of Milan into England as the discoverer, whereof at Heidelberg they have reason to inquire after the news.

My Lady Bennet would not vouchsafe, all the while she was in Holland, nor yet on going or coming to Amsterdam, to visit the Hague; but she had seen enough of that good town, though she was in a nest of hornets, as she told, her friends and kindred, by reason of the boys and wenches, who much wondered at her huge farthingales and fine gowns, and saluted her at every turn of the street with their usual caresses of *Hoore! hoore!* And she was more exposed to view, because, when she would go closely in a covered waggon about the town, she could not, because there was no possible means to hide half her farthingale.

Mr. Trumbull writes me, he is like speedily to be called away, and no more to be sent in his place; which I shall be no gladder of, than the cardinal's muleteer was when his master was made Pope, because my work will be the more to write news of that side likewise, of which I so well discharged.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, June 12-22, 1617.

I would gladly hear what is become of Mr. Pory, from whom I heard often, until I answered his last letter, and

never after. Mr. Toby Matthew, being crazy at Louvain, goeth to the Spa before he lay hold of his leave to go into England.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, July 7, 1617.

I remember an answer of Count Maurice to the Count de Bougney; who being prisoner, and passing upon the Rhine with his excellency, "*Ces revières*," said he, "*vous servent bien de remparts.*"—"*Et vous d'excuse.*"

The world is much confused in conjecture at Fabritio's late despatches, which strangers write hither out of his letters to his friends, are matters of the greatest moment that ever *legatus peregre missus*, &c., sent to his prince.

Mr. Brent finds himself too far spent in the world to wait for an after harvest, and flatters himself much with the hopes of my Lord Buckingham, whose kinsman, young Sir H. Butler, he hath here in his charge. Colwell is laid up of the sciatica, so as I must look about me for some fit man, whose pen and head I may use for my own ease.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 5, 1617.

The bulk of this packet will promise somewhat at first sight, but it hath nothing more than your own store, for the which I return you many thanks, assuring you they have been as private, saving to myself, as if they had been in your own custody; and indeed a man shall understand more by one of them than by twenty Fabritios,[1] who still *antiquum obtinet*, and cannot leave his old custom of posting things over to the next courier, which commonly proves Tom Long, the carrier; for I never knew him yet discharge any debt that way, though he promised round things to somebody else besides you, which I came to see by chance, being present at the receipt; but hitherto, for aught I can learn, they neither appear round nor square, but flat farlies and idle conceits.

[1] Sir Henry Wotton.

Within the compass of three days I received your letters of the 13th and 22nd of the last month, and am sorry to see myself so unfurnished to requite the least part. Mr. Secretary's journey into Scotland is in suspense till he hear thence again; and though he be prepared and have all in readiness to set forth on Monday next, yet it will come well to pass if he may avoid it. It is as well in other respects as for the weather, which, for these four or five weeks, hath been so immoderately wet, with so many great floods, that all hay and grass in lower grounds is quite spoiled, and if God send us not better weather the sooner, corn will likewise be endangered. And withal, I see not to what great purpose his journey can be, the king being already gone from Edinburgh, not to return thither again, but taking a progress further into the land, to come about by the west coast of Scotland to Carlisle, where he makes account to be about the beginning of August.

About a fortnight since the Lord Zouch took a voyage thither in a pinnace from Dover, but whether he arrived before the king's departure we hear not, neither what was done in their parliament, being by all likelihood very little, else should we have had more noise. I have seen the king's speech the first day of their session, which was neither so long nor, in my judgment, so accurate as he was wont. I had only a sight of it, being hastily called for before I could run it quite over.

Most of our English are retired towards Carlisle till the king's coming, and some are returned hither this week, as the Earls of Southampton, Montgomery, and the Lord Hay, who will use all possible means to get the Earl of Northumberland's good will with his daughter, and to have the £20,000 he promised her, if she would be ruled by him. But he may cast his cap at that, seeing him so incensed not only against her, but against his fair Lady of Somerset, for procuring and persuading of that match, that they came to bad terms, and no better than to call her bawd, and young bawd.

There was some buzzing, toward in Scotland, 'twixt the Earl of Montgomery and the Lord Walden, about a dis-

pute of an ape's tail; but the matter was prevented, and the quarrel taken up by the king's authority. There is some great unkindness grown, I know not how, 'twixt the great seal and our good friend;[1] so far forth, that fault was found for want of good manners, and for keeping no better distance as they sat in commission for the queen, who is very gracious to our friend, and none so great there as he now.

Divers of our merchants have been, and are, very backward in the late loan of money, and cannot be drawn by persuasion to lay down that they are rated at; so that, having been often before the council, there is, lastly, order taken to send some of the most refractory with letters into Scotland, to give there a reason for their refusal.

Sir John Digby went this week westward, towards Spain, but with so little speed, that he means to stay a month or five weeks at Sherbourn. He carrieth many precious wishes with him; but I dare not say, as his lady doth, that all good folks pray for the success of that business.

Sir Walter Raleigh hath met with a tempest at sea, that hath dispersed and scattered his ships, whereof one was driven almost to Bristol. Himself and some others are in several ports of Ireland. He had seven ships and three pinnaces, the whole adventure of him and his followers being near £37,000, whereof £14,000 for his own account, as I saw under his own hand. God speed him, and send him a better voyage than I even hope for!

The Earl of Oxford hath written from Venice for leave to raise men here for that State. How he shall speed I know not yet; but, no doubt, the Lord Dingwall will cross it all he can with the king, for the discontent he took in that business.

The Archbishop of Spalato went to the commencement, and perhaps means as much to Oxford, if the weather hinder not. Four of his ten books are very shortly coming forth. I would he had some more certainty of provision; but I hear, how truly I know not, that we are likely to have him preach shortly in the Italian Church at Mercers'

[1] Secretary Winwood.

Chapel, which were too much abasing to do it ordinarily, unless he desire it.

Dr. Burgess preached at Paul's Cross on Sunday, where Mr. Secretary and his lady were present, and as great an auditory as hath been seen there; but whatsoever other men say, for my part I can discover nothing so extraordinary in him but opinion. There is a business of a son-in-law of his at the Hague, wherein I think you will be moved to assist him with your favour. Whatsoever you shall please to do for him will be well bestowed, as well in regard of himself as his friends that wish him well, specially the Lady Winwood and the Lady Vere, with whom he is very potent.

Mrs. Palmer, the Lady Garrett's daughter, is lately dead in childbed. The Lady Wainman hath likewise left Sir Richard a widower. His eldest son lately married the Lady Winwood's middle niece. The youngest is assured to Sir Thomas Denton's son; and this week the match was concluded for the eldest with Sir John Packington's son, Sir Alexander Hampden, her uncle, assuring £1200 land a-year upon her. There be great wars betwixt Sir John and his lady, who sues him in the high commission, where, by his own wilfulness, she hath some advantage of him, and keeps him in prison. But the lord keeper deals very honourably in the matter, which, though he could not compound, being referred to him, yet he carries himself so indifferently that he wisheth her to yield, and tells her, plainly and publicly, that she must look for no countenance from him, as long as she follows this course.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 17, 1617.

In my last, I remember I wrote that Mr. Comptroller was to go forward toward France that day I sent mine to you, and so, indeed, went as far as Greenwich. But the queen would not let him depart till she had feasted him the day following. Most of the council keep there about her, saving such as have necessary attendance at the term,

and these come still on Saturday night, and tarry Sunday. The rest are only absent on Star Chamber days, which have been few or none this term, or not past once at most, by reason of the lord keeper's indisposition, which hath greatly hindered that court and the chancery, and, if it should continue, would much disturb the whole course of Westminster Hall and the council table, where matters of greatest moment are still put off, and reserved till he may be present. His infirmity is given out to be the gout, and the greatest harm or sense he hath of it is in the heel; and sometimes he takes pleasure to flout and play with his disease, which, he says, hath changed the whole covetous course, and is become ambitious, for never beggar had the gout but he. But, in truth, the general opinion is, that he hath so tender a constitution, both of body and mind, that he will hardly be able to undergo the burthen of so much business as his place requires; and that, if he do not rouse and force himself beyond his natural inclination, both private subjects and the commonwealth will suffer much.

On Monday, Sir John Denham was sworn a baron of the exchequer, in the room of Altham; and Sergeant Hutton a judge of the common pleas, in place of Nicol; and Sir William Jones, of Lincoln's Inn, sworn chief justice of Ireland.

On Saturday last, the Lord Hobart, arguing in the exchequer chamber in the matter of *commendam*, Sir Roger Owen, being present, was so ravished with the argument that he fell stark mad, though, indeed, he was noted to be crazy and distempered before. The physicians have him in hand, and are not out of hope to recover him, but his friends make all the means they can for the saving of his estate, which, in this catching world, is in danger to be begged.

This year hath been observed to be very fatal to divers of our prime Parliament men, as to Sir Henry Neville, Sir Maurice Berkley, Sir Roger Owen, and Sir Herbert Crofts, who, they say, is secretly shrunk over into France, his estate being so weakened and wasted, as now a good while he hath been driven to hide his head, and play least

in fight. Others I have heard named, likewise, which are out of my remembrance.

On Tuesday, the Lady Farmer was arraigned at the King's Bench for killing of Onley. The case was like to go hard with her, and so was put off till this next week, and then, perhaps, till the next term, and so, like enough, till the king's coming.

The Lord Coke and his lady hath great wars at the council-table. I was there on Wednesday, but, by reason of the lord keeper's absence, there was nothing done. What passed yesterday I know not yet; but the first time, she came accompanied with the Lord Burghley and his lady, the Lord Danvers, the Lord Denny, Sir Thomas Howard and his lady, with I know not how many more, and declaimed bitterly against him, and so carried herself, that divers said Burbage[1] could not have acted better. Indeed, it seems he hath carried himself very simply (to say no more) in divers matters, and no doubt he shall be sifted thoroughly, for the king is much incensed against him, and, by his own weakness, he hath lost those few friends he had.

The Earl of Northumberland could not divert his daughter, Lucy, from the Lord Hay, for, while he had her in the Tower, giving her leave daily to visit the Lady of Somerset, thereby to have the better access himself, the matter was so plotted that, where he thought he had her safest, there he lost her, and so was fain to send her away, seeing he could prevail no more with her. Her mother would not receive her neither, so that she retired to her sister at Baynard's Castle, and, since the Lord Hay's going into Scotland, continues at the wardrobe, he having left her £2000 for her maintenance till his return.

The old Bishop of Durham[2] is at last dead, indeed, since the king's being there, and we hear the Bishop of Lincoln[3] is his successor.

The next day, being all convented before the council, she[4] was sequestered to Mr. Attorney, and, yesterday, upon

[1] Richard Burbage, the famous actor, and friend of Shakspeare, eminent for performing the part of King Richard the Third.
[2] Dr. William James. [3] Dr. Richard Neile. [4] Lady Coke's daughter.

a palliated agreement 'twixt Sir Edward Coke and his lady, she was sent to Hatton House, with order that the Lady Compton and her son should have access to win her and wear her. It were a long story to tell all the passages of this business, which hath furnished Paul's and this town very plentifully the whole week. The Lord Coke was in great danger to be committed for disobeying the council's order, for abusing his warrant, and for the violence used in breaking open the doors; to all which he gave reasonable answers, and, for the violence, will justify it by law, though orders be given to prefer a bill against him in the Star Chamber. He and his friends complain of hard measure from some of the greatest at that board, and that he was too much trampled upon with ill language. And our friend passed not Scot-free for the warrant, which the greatest there said was subject to a *præmunire*, and, withal, told the Lady Compton that they wished well to her and her sons, and would be ready to serve the Earl of Buckingham with all true affection, whereas others did it out of faction and ambition. Which words glancing directly at our good friend, he was driven to make his apology, and to show how it was put upon him, from time to time, by the queen and the other parties; and, for conclusion, showed a letter of approbation of all his courses from the king, making the whole table judge what faction or ambition appeared in this carriage, *ad quod non fuit responsum.* And, indeed, hitherto I do not see in all these oppositions, but that he maintains his ground, and goes away with general applause. But *hinc illæ lachrymæ*, that they doubt the Lord Coke's rising by this match, and his coming again among them, and, therefore, would either hinder it, or have the thank to contrive it. But if it be, as is said, both mother and daughter are far enough from it, and have another aim at a younger son[1] of the lord treasurer's.

Sir Lionel Cranfield hath buried his lady, and we hear that old Secretary Herbert is dead in Wales.

[1] Probably Sir Robert Howard, knight of the Bath, who was afterwards prosecuted for his gallantries with the young lady, when wife of Sir John Villiers, Viscount Purbeck.

The Archbishop of Spalato is returned from Oxford, very well satisfied with both our universities and their exercises.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, July 18-28, 1617.

The world is full of casting and inquiring touching Fabritio's great affair; he having published by his letters and messengers, as well abroad as at home, that it is the greatest that ever was sent into England, which Sir Noel Carew hath by this last post advertised his masters; but, withal, that a certain Italian, on whom the business chiefly depends, is kept at Greenwich until the king's return, which makes him conclude it cannot be so great a matter as it is made, since it can stay and attend at so good leisure.

Toby Matthew hath written unto me, that the earnestness of his friends in England hath drawn him from his intended journey to the Spa, and that in all haste he then sets forwards towards England, which was the 8-18 of this present. You have great part in his letter, and in these words: "Another suit I have to make to your lordship is, that you will seriously intreat your good, wise friend, Mr. Chamberlain, to let me clearly and infinitely know, from time to time, what errors I shall be thought to commit in my behaviour, that I may mend that ere it be too late. It is not in matters of my conscience that I make him my judge, or therein to trouble himself, but in matters of my conversation, whereof he will be sure to hear much, and I know can judge discreetly, and I much desire to profit by his good counsel." *Hæc illi!*

I am sorry for our friend's either fortune or condition to be buckling with great persons. It makes me think of a Spanish fable, and, thereupon, a proverb, that a pillar and a pitcher being fallen out, a good honest pipkin, being a friend to the pitcher, gave this wise counsel: *Si le piedra paze mal al Caraffo, mal por el Caraffo: si el Caraffo paze mal a la piedra, mal por el Caraffo!* So as there is no good comes either way.

Mr. Burges's son-in-law, whom you recommend, if it be

Mr. Amys, knows he may promise himself any courtesy at my hands, though we complain of him here, in this time of differences and disputes, for leaving us so long like a shepherd-flock. We have our church free again to ourselves, whereby there is greater note of his absence; and in this regard, not knowing whether we should see him here again, whereof some made doubt, I have been fain to write to some of my friends for a household chaplain.

I have seen many of the Scottish poems upon the king's entertainment in Edinburgh, which are, in my conceit, but ordinary stuff.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 9, 1617.

This week I received your letter of the 18th of the last, by Martin the post, together with my lady's dainty token, which was nothing impaired by the searcher's rudeness in breaking open the box.

I come newly from Ditton, whither Mr. Secretary carried me, and kept me ten or twelve days, though himself made no long stay there at any time, but was still going and coming, as occasions called him. They have brought that place to a very good pass, wherein my lady challengeth the chief part, as well in building a new dove house, in paving the court, in bringing a spring, or conduit of excellent water, in making of fair and large ponds, in damming or filling up the moat, in planting a great orchard, in making a reasonable spacious garden, with delicate arbours, and fencing it with as fair a brick wall, as I have lightly seen, as also in furnishing the house very sufficiently, though without any great cost or curiosity. And this (besides other conveniences of offices within doors, and of outer courts, and outhousing abroad), in so short time, that the speedy despatch deserves as much commendation as the contriving or cost.

During my abode there, I had not the means to visit Eton, though it were much spoken of and often threatened; but this day sevennight, going to meet Mr. Secretary, as he was to come from Oatlands, we met on

the way Mrs. Sedley and her husband, with Mrs. Proxton and her daughter, going all to the election.

The king came to Carlisle the 4th of this present, where the Earl of Arundel met him, coming out of Ireland, where he had been about a bargain and exchange of land with the Lord Dingwall. He was much made of there, and often feasted, and sworn a councillor of that State; so that he is now of the council in all three kingdoms, all our councillors that went with the king having that honour done them in Ireland.

Our good friend means not to make towards the court, till it come to Woodstock, wherein I know not whether he will do well or no. But he is so confident in all his courses, that there is no advising or arguing to the contrary. Upon his acquainting the Lords with the king's letters, that he should do what he found most fit for his service, they were all of opinion for his stay, and wrote a joint letter to the king to that purpose. Soon after my last to you, there came new letters out of Scotland, to approve all his dealings in the Lord Coke's business, which made the most forward on the other side to pull in their horns; and order was taken that his daughter should be delivered him, and disposed of as he should think fit. Whereupon he sent her to Kingston, to his son, Sir Robert Coke's, where she yet remains; and her mother, having permission to resort unto her, but not to lie in the house, she hired a lodging in the town, and kept her such company all day, that nobody else could have access. Whereupon her coming is much moderated, and divers of her instruments in conveying her away are called in question and examined. Whereupon, finding herself forsaken of her friends, who dare not show themselves too far in the business, and seeing she struggles in vain, she begins to come about, and upon a letter to her from my Lord of Buckingham, hath returned answer, as I hear, that if this course had been taken with her at first, things might have proceeded better; and, upon some conditions, can be content to double the portion her husband hath offered, and so make up the match, and give it her blessing. The Lady Compton and her son have been at Kingston, these

two or three days, which makes the world think they grow to conclusion. But, it seems, the Lady Hatton would have all the honour and thanks, and so defeat her husband's purposes; towards whom, of late, she has carried herself very strangely, and, indeed, neither like a wife nor a wise woman.

The lord keeper hath been this fortnight at Gorhambury, and means to continue there a fortnight or three weeks longer. The world begins already to complain of some encroaching courses, and say, if things should thus proceed and hold on, that we should have, as it were, all men's estates *in scrinio pictoris*. The distaste continues still 'twixt him and "the boisterous secretary," as he terms him, though some friends have meditated a reconciliation. But, at the worst, the world is of opinion, that if they should come to jostle, both of them are made of as brittle metal, the one as the other. But there is an untoward piece of work newly fallen out for our good friend, about a warrant, they say, under his hand, whereby certain Scottish men go prowling up and down Northamptonshire, to borrow money for the king. And how they have used or abused it, I know not; but a general complaint is come from the gentlemen thereabout, and his ill-willers take advantage of it, so that whether the thing be counterfeit or true (as perhaps he had some such warrant), yet it sounds ill; and, upon the first noise, he hath shot away his little flight, John More, and sent him down post to fetch up the fellows, and hush the business. When he returns (as he is looked for every hour), we shall see how the matter hath been carried.

The Lord Roos, pretending a journey into Yorkshire in good equipage, with sixteen or twenty men, and being on his way as far as Huntingdon and Stilton, there left them till his return from London, whither he feigned to be called back upon some urgent occasion. But there hath been no news of him till Thursday last, that an unknown French foot-post brought Mr. Secretary a letter from him, without date of time or place, wherein he complains that the diabolical dealings of the Lady Lake have driven him to absent himself, excusing himself towards him very much

for not acquainting him with it; but, within twenty-five days, he should hear farther from him the reasons of his departure. In the mean time, he had sent him therewithal, in a box, security for £4000 he had borrowed of him, and should have been paid the 1st of this month, which was a grant and conveyance of certain woods, worth £8000, as he says. Howsoever it be, I make no doubt but Mr. Secretary will make shift to come by his money. The letter was very well and affectionately written, and with a great deal of acknowledgment towards him. This is all we hear of him, yet saving that the fellow said he left him at Calais, and had charge to deliver the letter and box to his own hands. If he chance to come by you, I pray you take no more notice of this than you shall find convenient.

Sir John Digby is still at Sherbourn, or on his way to Plymouth. Mr. Secretary wrote to him the last week, to wish him not to make too much haste; for that he had advertisement out of Spain, that they were treating there for the marriage of that daughter with the new King of Bohemia's[1] son, and that he had written it to the king, and left it to his consideration, whether it were fit to proceed any further, till that point were cleared.

The chancellor of the Exchequer[2] is toward marriage, they say, with a young widow, the Lady Anderson, niece to the Earl of Buckingham, and sister to Sir Henry Butler, that was lately with you. The Lord Stanhope's daughter was married on Thursday last, to one Sir Robert Cholmondeley of Cheshire. The French ambassador, on his way homeward, was robbed at Beauvois, of 400 Jacobus pieces, by some of his own followers, whereof one is apprehended here. It was good luck he lost no more; for, besides that, he had better than 3000 more in the same coin.

Touching Fabritio's[3] precious advertisement, I knew no more when I wrote you, that I had seen the man; only finding our good friend, methought, more sparing than he usually is when I inquired of him, I urged a little the more; whereupon he gave me this answer—"I cannot

[1] Ferdinand, crowned King of Bohemia, June 19, 1617.
[2] Sir Fulk Greville.
[3] Sir Henry Wotton.

precisely say what it may come to; but, as far as I can gather, never trust my judgment if it prove any matter of worth." So that I doubt this *legatus peregre missus* will make good his *mentiendi causâ*, as well in that as he doth in his last letters (which I saw yesterday), that the Venetians had lost more than a million and a half in merchandize, upon two galleys taken by the Neapolitan fleet. I would scant change states with him; nor, with all I know of his name, if I had but so much as there was lacking of that sum.

The Lord Hay thinks long till the king's coming, that he may consummate his marriage, for the king hath promised to give the bride. He is wonderfully observant and obsequious to her and her mother, and spends most part of his time there, having taken Sir Francis Darcy's house, by Sion, where he makes solemn feasts twice a week, at least, with that cost and expense, that the Lady of Northumberland dares not so much as once invite him, by reason of his curiosity, though he be commonly in her house from morning till dinner, from after dinner till supper, from after supper till late in the night. It comes well to pass, that he begins this course, in a year when there is so great plenty of excellent venison, and such store of salmons, that the like hath not been seen in the Thames these forty years.[1] The like feasting he hath kept during his abode in Scotland, where his ordinary rate for his table was £300 a-week, besides feasts, which were very frequent, both to the council, our clergy and chaplains, the household, the pensioners, the guard, the chapel, and his own country nobility and gentry.

I have not seen Mr. Matthew since I wrote last, but once in St. Paul's, when we dealt as confidently one with another as need to be, and so I will do whensoever he shall give me occasion. He hath been ever since, I think, at Gorhambury, being so exceedingly favoured and respected by that lord, that it is thought, *aliquid minium*, that a man of his place should give such countenance to one so affected; and some stick not to say, that former private

[1] The Thames salmon have disappeared since the introduction of steamboats on the river.

familiarity should give place to public respect. It is likewise noted, that he showed himself somewhat too soon upon the Exchange; but these are but peccadilloes, and may pass well enough, if he have the principal verb so much his friend as he makes account of.

I have by good hap got you one of Forth's farthings, not an hour before I received your letter. I returned home six of these pamphlets out of Scotland, lent me by Mr. Clarencieux.[1] Our printers either have no correspondence thence, or care not to have; for they might print them here if they thought them worth it, as in truth some of them are, specially this, and *Nemo* with the *Complaint of Levi*.

I send you withal two shillings-worth of news from Mr. Wake, at leastwise it cost me so much, but any man shall have it for three halfpence, and yet it is the best I have had from him these six months, which hath made me resolve to give him over quite, as indeed I began to answer him slowly now a good while.

I chanced to light upon Mr. Sherburn as I was going out of town; and, conferring with him about a fit man to write under you, he told me of one he had in readiness, that he would recommend unto you. If it prove so, I shall be glad I made the mention, and no doubt he hath given you notice of him before this time. I hope he hath made you a good account of all that hath passed through his hands.

Dr. Burgess tells me, that before this time you understood of his son-in-law's business, whose name is Sherman, and he saith he spoke to Mr. Secretary to recommend it unto you. If the case be as he makes it, it cannot be but a reasonable suit. He is leaving his charge here at Bishopsgate, and hath accepted a benefice in Warwickshire,[2] worth £250 a-year at least, bestowed upon him by a gentleman, only upon the good report he heard of him, and the commendation of the Lady Scudamore, who dwells not far off. She is with child by this husband, whose name is Lee, of Rushall, and now ready to lie down, after twenty years' vacation and more. Dr. Burges's best friends

[1] Camden. [2] Sutton Colefield.

hereabout are nothing pleased with his remove, but complain of his unsettled humour, that loves still to be flitting.

For your nephew, Will Williams, he is out of his years, and went over, as I take it, for his freedom; but I doubt he is too fine at first to thrive too fast.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, August 12-22, 1617.

If Mr. Pory have with Constantinople, and can *Star Saldo* against the pot[1] (which is hard in this country), he shall be welcome unto me, for I love an old acquaintance; and therefore, I pray you, treat with him upon the point, as if yourself; and if he takes this course, you may assure him of good usage. Sherburn understanding by you I seek after a secretary, recommends unto me one Bacon, a follower of my lord keeper's; but that which makes you conceive, on the one side, to be the cause why he frequents you less than he was wont, makes me, on the other side, to lend no ear to his motion; for I would more unwillingly give any subject of jealousy to our good friend, than he to be his new master.

All things being ill here for the present, and like to grow worse, do not condemn me of levity if I cast abroad for myself; and therefore Sir Thomas Edmondes being before long to return (which employment is now better than before D'Ancre's death), what if you should cast out a word of yourself to Mr. Secretary of placing some other of his here, and removing me thither? *Dictum sapienti;* and so I leave it unto you.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 27, 1617.

The Treatise of the Plague is well worth the reading, though I have not yet gone little more than half through it, and sure he seems a good, sufficient man, though altogether chemical.[2] I thank God we are yet free from that disease, though we cannot be without fear of *aliquid mali*

[1] Master Pory, it seems, followed the court custom of deep potations.
[2] Most probably the writer means "chimerical."

propter vicinum malum, specially considering the traffic and commerce 'twixt those infected places and us; and we cannot but apprehend that *nostra res agitur*, when so near a neighbour's house is on fire.

Touching Mr. Pory, I can promise nothing till my going back to London, which I know not how long it will be before the term. He shall not want any counsel or encouragement that I can give him, as likewise I did spur him what I could toward his pretended journey into those parts, only upon opinion it might be to do good purpose both for himself and you. But the last time I spake with him, I perceived that he had been put in hope of some employment there for the merchants, which failing, he was no more forward in the voyage; and yet methought he lingered more than ordinary still about me, which made me suspect he had somewhat else to say, which I am nothing willing to hear.

Neither can I tell what to promise touching the latter part of your letter, till I meet again with our good friend; only this I can promise and perform, to give it my best furtherance, and accordingly to advertize you truly what I find. But I remember, that talking with him some time ago about those businesses, he told me, that our wants would drive us to cut off those charges as much as possibly might be, and to bring those things to that course the late queen left. And so it was already begun in Spain, and upon Sir Thomas Edmondes's return would be continued in France, *et sic de cæteris;* and indeed Mr. Becher, by the Lord of Buckingham's favour and means, hath a grant of being agent in France, though I hear that Woodford,[1] who supplied the place during his lord's absence, hath good friends, and will be able to make strong opposition, having the advantage of being, as it were, in possession.

You may do well to acquaint Sir Thomas Edmondes with your intention, for you know what interest you have with him, and, if you give me authority, I will confer with him as to his coming back for our good friend, and he do commonly concur very well in all manner of business, and

[1] Secretary to Sir Thomas Edmondes.

this summer, more than once, he hath told me what a mess he hath of him, and doth often wish him at home.

The king is now in Lancashire, and about ten days hence is expected at Woodstock. The Lord Coke makes account to meet him at Coventry, when we shall see what he is to trust to. How those * * * * matters have passed since my coming from London I know not; but I heard that his lady and he were seen both in a coach going in at Mr. Secretary's, some eight days since. But there is no great heed to be taken to their agreement; for of late they usually make peace, and break it twice in a fortnight.

On Saturday last, here passed by Ware, one Ker, a Scottish gentleman, suspected and charged, together with some others of that family and name, to have conspired the death of the Earl of Buckingham, at his coming out of Scotland, and so were apprehended about Carlisle, where the Marquis of Hamilton was sworn of the council of England, and meets the king when he comes to Theobalds.

The Lord Walden is said to be in some dislike, both for quarrelling in Scotland with the Earl of Montgomery and Lord Compton, and specially for going about by indirect means to set dissension 'twixt my Lord of Buckingham and the said marquis, which, coming to repetition, the whole disgrace turned upon himself. I have not heard a man generally better spoken of than that marquis, even by all the English, insomuch that he is every way held the gallantest gentleman of both the nations.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, September 12, 1617.

How that business (of the Synod) will proceed, is yet doubtful, by reason of the opposition of the Armenian faction, which is strongest in Holland, sways all in Utrecht, and is *mipartie* in . All which hath been hitherto endeavoured by the rest of the provinces, is to persuade Holland to reassemble the States, whereby to consult of this course, as the only remedy to the present disorders, to which those who have chief authority lend a deaf ear,

insisting upon the resolution taken in their last assembly, which was a flat exclusion of a national Synod, unless a provincial might proceed, and that framed in that manner as in no ways practicable. Monsieur Barnevelt,[1] against the time of the arrival of those deputies, absented himself to Vienna, for change of air (as he pretended), and since, under colour of taking physic, stays at Utrecht and thereabout, notwithstanding that he hath been often desired by letters, and since by two express despatches from the council of Holland, to return. Divers imagine (and upon great presumptions), that he will give over the managing of affairs, and leave the Hague; but, unless things go worse than they have hitherto done, and from words come to blows, I am not of that mind; for, in that case, he will remain where he is, best assured. But matters proceeding, as I hope they will, to be determined by treaty, it were a madness for him to abandon the authority he actually enjoyeth in the State, in maintenance of a cause, whereof the first ground, which is this dispute of Predestination, is (as he hath solemnly protested unto me) against his conscience, he being, as he saith, of the opinion of the *contra remonstranto*, though he holds for the *remonstranto*,[2] in that he thinks and maintains there may be a toleration of both, which the *contra remonstranto* cannot admit, *et hinc illæ lachrymæ*, he and his faction striving to effect this toleration without separation in the church, by absolute authority; and the others continuing separate until the toleration, or what course else he thought best, shall be determined by Synod.

Mr. Pory had the good luck to see her (a ship of 1200 tons built at Amsterdam, after the English model), taking that way to this place, which was somewhat a long voyage; and, after he had his packet, he stayed from Wednesday till Monday in London, for want of wings, there being no money to pay the post; and now he was not so slow in

[1] John Olden Barneveldt, one of the most illustrious statesmen of Holland. He was the champion of the people in opposition to Prince Maurice—a tyrant of the worst class, who hated him, and determined to destroy him, which determination he was enabled to carry into effect, to the eternal disgrace of the country that allowed it, by causing him to be beheaded, on the false charge of harbouring designs against public liberty, on May 13, 1619, at the age of seventy-two.

[2] He supported the Armenians against the Calvinists.

coming: but he makes as much haste to be gone, having too many irons in the fire to think of any settled course in this place; so as I have said nothing to him concerning the matter you wot of; and I will have patience until I may be fitted to my mind.

To go on, in answer to your last, from Ware Park, of the 27th of August, I like best to defer the matter, which concerns myself, until Sir Thomas Edmondes's coming over; and then I would be glad, as occasions may be offered, you would speak both with him and our friend, but as a motion of your own. For, besides that it is a business wherein none should be their own speaker, moreover I find myself subject, with my best friends, to the censure of intrusion, which I must yield to thus far, that I am indeed more ready to look about me and conceive better hopes, now I have so good friends in place than if they were strangers; and this makes me write freely to you, and sometimes desire you to speak to them, as anything comes to mind, either at home or abroad. In this there is no danger in saying, and, it may be, things will be settled here, that I need not desire change. You may remember how long I have had an eye upon the reversion of Eton, which is come by mischance to my father Saville's knowledge; but he seems not to take it ill, having offered my brother Harrison, in my behalf, to do his best to get the king's promise. And, if he continue in the good mind, I pray you add your helping hand with Mr. Secretary Winwood; for, betwixt them two, it might easily be compassed. And though the promise of a place, which is elective, be no assurance, yet having the good will of the fellows (which I will not despair of), I should have no great advantage above other pretenders.

I have had lately a kind letter from the Archbishop of Spalato, with three of his books, whereof two I caused to be presented in his name, the one to the States, the other to his excellency, to which he hath sent kind answers, and a fair gilt cup, worth £40, from the States, as a token. You shall see, by an abstract of his letter to me, his opinion of our Universities and the country he passed through in

that journey. And, if I can recover the copy of the States' letter in time, you shall have it as a thing wherewith the good old man will be much encouraged, as he hath been with a very good letter from the king out of Scotland, whereof I send you a copy, though, it may be, you have it already.

Adam Newton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Deptford, September 28, 1617.

I was at Hampton Court on Sunday last, where the court was indeed very full; king, queen, and prince, all residing there for the time. The king and prince, after their coming from Theobalds this day se'nnight, went to Windsor to the hunting of the wild boar, and came back on Saturday.

Yesterday, which was Michaelmas-day, the marriage betwixt Sir John Villiers and the lady[1] was celebrated in the presence of their majesties. Of the particulars I cannot inform you, because I came from thence on Sunday in the afternoon, when I met, near unto Kingston Bridge, the parties to be married going towards the court; Sir Edward Coke bringing them from his son's house at Kingston town's end, with eight or nine coaches. It is said the mother's consent was obtained; the lady protesting that howsoever she liked Sir John better than any other whatsoever, yet she desired to keep a solemn promise made to her mother, not to marry any man without her consent.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 11, 1617.

Though it be long, yet at last I am returned to my old garrison, and find here little alteration, saving the ordinary revolution and course of this world, some coming and some going. Our overthwart neighbour, Sir Thomas

[1] Frances, youngest daughter of Sir Edward Coke. She married the elder brother of the favourite.

Hayes, hath left a fine rich widow, but the multitude of children will be a great chain to her marriage. The Lord Gerrard, President of Wales, hath enjoyed that place but a little, nor his fair young lady.

The Lord Willoughby, of Parham,[1] hath likewise left the world, and Sir William Wray; and your old friend, Sir Antony Mildmay, of whose will I hear little or nothing yet, but only that Ned Wymarke, for all the ancient acquaintance between them, hath not so much as a rush-ring for remembrance.

Sir Daniel Dunne died no rich man, for all he had three good offices. Sir Henry Martin, the king's advocate, hath his place of judge of the admiralty. Sir Newman, a doctor of law, is dean of the Arches; and his mastership of Requests in ordinary is yet in suspense 'twixt Sir Christopher Perkins, Sir Lionel Cranfield, and Sir Sidney Montagu.

The Earl of Montgomery hath lost his only son, but his lady, being with child and near her time, put him in hope of a new heir. Your brother Sedley hath lost his mother, the Lady of Abergavenny; but no doubt you have heard of that before, as perhaps all or most part of the rest, but I love to leave nothing that comes to my knowledge or remembrance.

Sir Robert Sidney's lady hath brought him a daughter. The marriage 'twixt her sister and the Lord Hay is put off till the king's return at Hallowtide. For so hot love they have a great deal of patience, but the world suspects it begins to cool, and, if matters were not so forward, we might chance hear no further of it.

Sir Patrick Murray's lady, that was Sir Francis Vere's widow, hath brought him a son, at whose christening the king, the Earl of Buckingham, and the Lady of Salisbury, were gossips, wherein lies a mystery, if the tender will take.

Ned Sherburn had a son christened by the lord keeper and Sir Fulk Greville, but I doubt it was but by deputies. I hear he is near his lord in good grace and place, and was

[1] William, third lord.

much employed by him in the business of reconciliation 'twixt him and the Lady Compton, wherein he carried himself very dexterously, and got the start of all his colleagues in diligent waiting and being ever at hand.

It were to no purpose to write of the king's return out of Scotland, and what infinite numbers of people went out of this town to meet him, when he came hither, and how well they were washed with a sound shower of rain for their labour. Our good friend went no further than Woodstock, to meet him; the rest of the council to Windsor.

I cannot relate all the passages of the Lady Coke's business, because I was absent. But sure she hath done herself a great deal of wrong in kicking against the pricks, and by indiscreet courses, to hinder that which lay not in her power. Her daughter was married to Sir John Villiers, at Hampton Court, on Michaelmas-day. The king himself gave the bride, and they were thrice publicly asked in the church. The pretended contract with the Earl of Oxford prove nothing; and since, the marriage letters are come, whereby he disavows it. Yet, to say my conscience, methinks there needed no such haste, but that they might have tarried for his answer, specially the bridegroom, being in no such perfect state of health, but that wedlock was rather like to hurt than heal him. But her mother's wilfulness and animosity, together with the danger of her continual plottings, made the business go on the faster.[1] She lies still at Sir William Craven's, crazy in body, and sick in mind. There is a commission to the lord keeper, the lord archbishop, Secretary Winwood, and I know not who else, to examine her of conspiracy, disobedience, and many other misdemeanours, and to proceed against her according as they find cause. But her sickness stands her in some stead for the time, and, if she come again to herself, it may be in that space there will grow grace. But she is in a wrong way now, and so animated toward her

[1] It went on too fast: the lady afterwards eloped with Sir Robert Howard, for which she was sentenced to do penance in a white sheet; after this she had a son, and both assumed the name of Wright.

husband, that it is verily thought she would not care to ruin herself to overthrow him. He is admitted again to the council-table, but his friends cannot yet foresee any further advancement. She sent lately to the Marquis Hamilton, and communicated unto him all her grievances, recommending herself and her distressed estate to his protection. Indeed, he is become very gracious among our great ladies, whereby a man may see how far reputation may prevail. He is of the council; and the Bishop of Winchester was likewise sworn since the king's coming back, so that the clergy was not so strong at the council-table these many years.

The Lord Rich is said to be in great perplexity, or rather crazed in brain, to see himself overreached by his wife, who hath so conveyed her estate that he is little or nothing the better by her, and, if she outlive him, like to carry away a great part of his. Her sister, the Lady Bowes, hath dealt clean contrary, being lately married to the Lord Darcy, of the north, and being a great estate, whole and entire, and refusing any jointure or other advantage, saying it is sufficient for her to have the honour without any hindrance to the house.

The French ambassador, that went lately hence, is returned with his wife and family, and means to stick to us.

The Lord Roos is sent for by order of the council; but the question is, where he may be found, for he plays least in fight, and stays not long in a place. The last news of him was that he was seen at Lyons. He is further indebted than I thought his credit could stretch.

The Jesuit, that came from Milan, is sent away without the king's seeing him, who gave order, that the lord archbishop and Mr. Secretary Winwood should hear what he could say. They dealt with him by all manner of good means, and drew from him, as he protested, the utmost of his knowledge, which was not all worth the whistling, being certain strange chimeras and far fetcht imaginations of plots and dangers not worth the knowing, much less the relating. Whereupon it was thought good to despatch

him away, the rather for that he grew scandalously debauched. He had a hundred pounds in gold delivered to him, which the searchers at the seaside took from him, a thing that should not have been done; but now there is no remedy, neither do they know how or whither to send it after him. And here is the end of that play, to the small honour of the author.

Here be many new knights made, and, among the rest, Sir George Calvert, Sir Clement Edmondes, and Albertus Morton; the chief reason of which was that Secretary Lake's son, being extraordinary, had got the start of his fellows.

The Lady of Roxburgh is gone from court, and the Lady Grey of Ruthen, though with much opposition, succeeds her in her place. Our good friend played his prizes there too, and overcame all difficulties, which I would not wish him to adventure too often, for the pitcher goes so long to the water that at last it comes broken home. But he says he will meddle no more in such matters. In truth, he could never leave in a better time, for he hath taken down all that stood in his way, and made the highest strike sail, and vail bonnet, which I impute not altogether to his fortune, but to courage and foresight, in what he undertook. The queen lately asked the lord keeper, what occasion the secretary had given him to oppose himself so violently against him; who answered prettily, "Madam, I can say no more, but he is proud, and I am proud." But the king, according to his pacifical disposition, hath made all friends; and, in the admonition he gave some of them, did him this honour to say: "You may perhaps think that he hath informed these and these things against you, but I assure you, on the word of a prince, that neither by word nor writing did he ever suggest aught to any particular man's prejudice, either to me or to Buckingham, as he is here ready to protest before you." He is gone this morning to Royston, to the king, and comes back on Tuesday. Yesterday, he came home from the Star Chamber, after he had sat there half an hour, very sick in his stomach, but with rest and other helps he recovered, and went back after

dinner, because the council sat there, the table and diet being newly erected, as it was wont to be.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, October 12, 1617.

Fabritio's correspondence and mine is at present at a stand, for he puts me still in expectation of his next, and, in answer, I have referred him to my last; which I mean shall be my last to him, without greater occasion be offered.

Touching my private affairs, I must remember unto you again, the finding me out of some fit person, whose pen I may use. My brother hath an intent, sooner or later, to send his son, who was bred up at Eton, and hath been now two years at Cambridge. If I had in time, I should think to make him serve the turn, which would turn as much to his benefit as my service; if I be otherwise provided before he comes, he will then live at no great leisure with me. I pray, you, therefore, speak to my brother, and know his mind; for, if he dispose him to this course, it is best he come presently, having leave of his house, whether he may return to renew his leave still, when it shall be expired.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 18, 1617.

Your brother, Carleton, is not in town, neither do I know when he will be; but, if he come not the sooner, I will find means to write to him concerning his son, who, I think, will be the fittest for you, when all is done. And God knows how much such a breeding may be to his advancement, and to the comfort of his friends; for I have little hope of your nephew, John, who is grown so negligent and idle, that he is generally noted for it; and I hear, from good place, that when the king reproves any man for ill waiting, he tells him he will prove a Carleton. Mr.

Pory appears not, neither can I learn of any body that he is returned.

Two days since I lighted upon Mr. Sherburn, and told him what you had written touching the account, to have it subscribed by himself, which he is willing and ready to do, but says it is sufficient if that he sent me do agree upon examination. I perceive he is in great hope to do himself good; and, no doubt, industry and diligence will prevail much with any man, specially with one that is attended by a sort of loose companions. I inquired of him after Mr. Matthew, who continues still very intimate with my lord. I hear he is grown very gay, or, rather, gaudy, in his attire, which I should not have suspected of his years and judgment. But, peradventure, it is more noted of him than needs; but that which is worse, and which I must tell you under the rose, he is noted for certain night-walks to the Spanish ambassador. But, if it be so, he presumes upon the forwardness of Sir John Digby's business, who, landing at St. Andrew's about the end of August, the fifth after his parting from Plymouth, found there great provision for his entertainment, and was to have his first audience at Lerma, where the duke made great preparation to receive the king. I was present yesternight, when letters came thence, full fraught with large promises of success. But God knows what is best, and to Him must we leave it.

Here is one Captain Bayley stolen away from Sir Walter Raleigh, who gives out that he is turned pirate; but the world hopes he speaks of malice, and that there is no such matter.

Yesterday, Mr. Secretary Winwood visited Contarini, and commends him for a sufficient man. This day, he goes to hear his cause handled in the chancery, 'twixt him and the Countess of Shrewsbury about the executorship,[1] which doth trouble him very much, and, if he end it not in time, may trouble those that come after him. I am sorry I was so true a prophet, for I told him as much at the very first, but he could not abide to hear of it. He told me he sent you a packet upon Thursday last.

[1] Of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

The queen is somewhat crazy again, though they say it is but the gout. She is generally well wished, and the care of her welfare makes the world more fearful.

The French Lady Killigrew, that married Dr. Downham, Bishop of Derry, is fallen into a dangerous infirmity, and there is little hope of her recovery.

Mrs. Bridges,[1] alias the Lady Kennedy, died at Westminster a fortnight since, being taken with strange convulsions, which made some suspect, more, perhaps, than there was cause, that she had done herself some wrong. She lived, of late, and died very poor, her maintenance being little or nothing, but, as it were, the judicious alms of her friends.

I forgot in my last, that Mr. Purvey, our neighbour in Hertfordshire, died lately. I cannot tell whether you knew him, though he were a noted man.

Captain Bruce died suddenly not long since, and old Scory, on Wednesday last, of an apoplexy. The Dean of Westminster, Dr. Mountaine, is removed to the bishopric of Lincoln; and one Dr. Tolson, a chaplain of the king's, is named to the deanery of Westminster. Sir William Bird is dean of the Arches; and that Newman, that I wrote of, who had the reversion of it by patent, is turned over to be judge of the court of audience. There is somewhat ado, and great labouring, who shall succeed Sir Daniel Dunn, to wait master of the Requests in ordinary. Sidney Montagu makes great means, by his brethren, the Bishop of Winchester, the lord chief justice, and other friends. Sir Lionel Cranfield, they say, hath offered £1500, but Sir Christopher Parkins is likest to carry it; who, at three score and seventeen years, is in parley to marry a widow, sister to the Lady Compton, and aunt to the Earl of Buckingham, whose brother, Sir Edward Villiers, they say, shall be master of the Mint, an office lately void by the death of Sir Richard Martin, who was

[1] Elizabeth, eldest of two daughters, and heirs of Giles, Lord Chandos, who died February 21, 1593; his eldest daughter being then sixteen years of age. She was afterwards married to Sir John Kennedy, Knt., but died without issue. This seems to be *fair Mrs. Bridges*, with whom the unfortunate Earl of Essex fell in love (*Sidney Papers*, vol. ii., p. 90), which probably occasioned Queen Elizabeth *to use her with words and blows of anger*, and to banish her the court for three days. —Ibid., p. 38.

held near a hundred years old. There was one that had a patent for the place in reversion, but how he is put off I know not. The Lord Compton is made President of Wales, but the world is of opinion that he means not to keep it, but to make his benefit of it.

Sir Francis Vane hath made choice of Palavacini to be a guide and tutor to his son, both at Cambridge and when he was to travel, allowing him a pension of £50 a-year during his life. We hear that Sir Herbert Crofts is turned Papist, which seems strange to many, but it is no great marvel, for *desperatio* hath made more monks than him.

Here is a rich ship, worth £180,000, arrived safely from Turkey, through the midst of the pirates, but she took the advantage of the night when she was in most danger.

John Chamberlain, Esq. to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 25, 1617.

The king is now at Hitchinbrooke, by Huntingdon, where he hath sprained his leg in his bed, as he saith, but it must not in any wise be thought to be the gout, so that, unless he mend the faster, it is doubted whether he will be here at Hallowtide. The queen continues still ill disposed, and, though she would fain lay all her infirmities upon the gout, yet most of her physicians fear a further inconvenience of an ill habit or disposition through her whole body.

Secretary Winwood came from Whitehall on Wednesday[1] to his house, ill at ease: and, sending for me, I found that he had *lentam febrem* upon him ever since Monday[2] before, by his own relation. He made, then, no reckoning of it, but since it hath increased so fast upon him, that yesterday, about noon, he was let blood, which was very bad and foul, and, withal, it had brought him so low, that he fainted divers times for an hour or two after. My lady came post from Sutton, and found him in those faintings, which so dejected her, that I did as much pity

[1] October 21. [2] October 19.

her as him. He continued very ill till ten o'clock at night, when I came away, after he had had prayers; and sending this morning to know how he had rested, word is brought that he had a very ill night, and grows weaker. God comfort him, and send us better news! Dr. Mayerne, or Turquet, your old acquaintance, and Dr. Chambers, the king's physician, with some others, look to him; and, yesterday, I brought Mr. Matthias, who came to him twice, and told me in mine ear that he liked not his pulse. But the worst I like in him is, that he is very talkative, which is an ill sign in a man otherwise so silent, and he found it in himself the first night I was with him. The continual visits and messages of great folks are a great vexation to him, and can hardly be avoided. You may think what a trouble it is, when, in the compass of an hour, or little more, there came, severally, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Arundel, Sir Thomas Somerset (who hath newly brought over his wife), the Countess of Ormonde, the Lady Compton and her son, Sir John Villiers, the Lord Hay, besides the Lord Chief Justice Montagu, the Lord Viscount Montacute, the Lord Clifton, and divers others, that were put by. The Lady of Exeter was with him not long before, and takes upon her great skill in physic. I pray God I may send better news of him by my next!

The Lady Killegrew was buried on Wednesday: and Dr. Wilkington,[1] one of the king's chaplains, that was with him in Scotland, is lately dead likewise. It was he that made the sermon of the *Merchant Royal*, at the Lord Hay's first marriage; and there is now a sermon of his come forth, called *Berwick Bridge*, preached at St. Andrew's, in Scotland. If I find it worth the sending when I have read it, you shall have it.

Among so many losses, Sir William Cavendish hath a son, which is no small joy to his father and himself, for it may be a hundred thousand pounds in his way, if his father keep his word.

[1] Robert Wilkington, Rector of St. Olave's, Southwark.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 31, 1617.

My fear was not vain, which I conceived of Mr. Secretary's disease; and I presaged too truly of the success. For, after my last writing to you, he daily decayed, even visibly, so that by Monday, in the afternoon, he was plainly *deploratus*, though he lived till Tuesday[1] morning, toward seven o'clock. He had all the help that our physicians could afford; but Mayerne never saw him after he had let him blood, for he went straight to the king. Of all men, I have no fancy to him; at leastwise, for luck sake. For, by that I have commonly observed, he is commonly unfortunate in any dangerous disease. But I will not blame him too much for this; seeing it appears, on the opening of the body, that he could not possibly last long, having his heart withered almost to nothing; his spleen utterly rotten; one of his kidneys clean gone, the other perished; his liver full of black spots; his lungs not sound; besides divers other defects. So that it was a wonder how he held out so long, or looked so well. But there appeared no signs of any ill measure, as was first generally suspected. Upon Sunday, he read a gracious letter from the king, to this effect, that he doubted the multiplicity and care of business had cast him down. Wherefore, he advised him to cast off all agitations, saving such as might best procure his recovery, wherein he should do him the best service that he ever had or could do him. At the same time, we had one likewise from the Lord of Buckingham, to the same purpose. And, seeing it was God's pleasure to call him, he could never go in a better time, than when he was in his highest power with the king, queen, prince, and principal favourite; and was generally grown into so good opinion, that his sickness first, and then his death, was as much lamented as ever I knew any of his rank, though I will not say but he had his ill willers, that are as glad he is gone as most are sorry. We buried him privately, yesternight, at ten o'clock, with as little noise

[1] October 27.

or show as might be; only his household and some of his friends and kindred had mourning.

He decayed so suddenly on Monday, after many good signs, by the physician's account, and so unexpected by himself and us all, that there was no time to finish his will whilst he was in perfect memory. But the best is, he had set his things in order this last summer, specially the conveyance of the lands, when he was to go into Scotland, which, if he had done, he had perfected all. But that journey failing, he put it off till a fitter time, as he thought. So that there be only projects of his meaning in writing, and somewhat by word of mouth, which I did in good part procure by entreating the Earl of Arundel to put him in mind of perfecting his will. But the effect of all, in short, is, that he hath left his eldest son £1500 land a-year in Buckinghamshire, after the decease of his mother, and an old Lady Throckmorton, that is not like to last long, besides Ditton Park. To his second son he hath left land in Norfolk, worth, presently to be sold, better than £6000; to his third son, land in Essex, to the value of above £100 a-year; and to his two daughters,[1] £4000 portion apiece. The lady is likely to get the administration; and, if she continue as well-minded towards them as there is hope she will, she may need all their portions very much—for he hath left a very good estate. The Archbishop of Canterbury professes very great affection towards the memory of him, and expresses very great care and kindness towards his lady and her children. The king hath granted her the wardship of her son, but in what terms I do not yet know, for it is but new done. The queen wrote earnestly in her behalf, and failed not every day to send to him after she heard he was let blood.

Now, all the speech is, who shall succeed him; and, as far as I can remember, I will name all that are in consideration:—Sir Thomas Edmondes, who is not yet arrived, but daily looked for; Sir Harry Wotton; Sir John Ben-

[1] The eldest, Anne, who was at last heir to her father, was married to Edward, the second Lord Montagu, of Boughton, in Northamptonshire, by whom she had issue Edward, who died in 1641, unmarried, and Ralph, created Duke of Montagu, and Elizabeth, married to Sir Daniel Harvey.

net, that, as they say, offers very fair for it; Sir Humphrey May, and Sir Robert Naunton, who both presume upon the Lord of Buckingham's favour. But I must not forget, that you are not the last, nor the least spoken of; but I doubt your absence is your greatest hindrance, unless the Lady Hatton have the grace in this conjecture to have you in remembrance. For, if it be as I hear, it never was in her power to stand you in so much stead. For the king coming to town yesterday, it was told me, that the Earl of Buckingham meant to go himself and fetch her, as it were, in pomp, from Sir William Craven's,[1] where she hath been so long committed, and bring her to the king, who, upon a letter of her submission, is graciously affected towards her. But another cause is that, seeing her yielding, and, as it were, won to give her allowance to the late marriage, he will give her all the contentment and countenance he can, in hope of the great portion he may bestow upon her. For there is little or nothing more to be looked for from Sir Edward Coke, who hath redeemed the land he had allotted his daughter, for £20,000; so that they have already £30,000 of him paid down. I would I knew any means to insinuate this business to her. If your father Saville or his lady were in town, they might easily do it; and I am persuaded that, considering all circumstances, it were no hard matter for her to obtain it upon this reconciliation and new league of alliance; and it might concern herself very much, considering that she lays all the fault of her late troubles upon the late secretary, who, not long telling her, before her father, that, for all her bitter speeches, they two should become good friends again, she protested she would sooner be friends with the devil. But, for all she was then so exasperated, I do think upon some reasons, if he had lived, all would have been forgotten, and they grown together again.

You may think what a loss I have of so good a friend, now, in my latter age, when I have most need of comfort. And, indeed, it was a kind of new life to me, to see his kindness increase daily towards me, and that we still grew nearer. But God knows what is best; and I hope, by

[1] Lord mayor of London in 1610.

this means and the like, more and more to wean me from the world.

Upon the receipt of your letter of the 19th of this present, I went to the Bishop of Ely, whom I had not seen long before his going into Scotland, nor since he was councillor. I was very welcome to him, and he used me with extraordinary kindness, though he expostulated with me very much for my long absence. I delivered him your proposition, and, withal, upon long conference, somewhat you had written touching the Armenians countenancing themselves with some of his letters. Whereupon, he fell into long speech of a writing that the Archbishop Whitgift got from him in some parts of that argument, and that he knows not what became of it, for he never gave copy of it, but one only to Mr. Hooker, who promised to return it, but never did. But he expressed not all the while which opinion he inclined to, but still insisted, if they had any writing of his, they should show it, concluding that I should assure you that they have no letter of his, and with that vehemency, that he would give me leave to send you his head in a platter, if they could show any letter of his. He told me, further, that Grotius, when he was here, dined once with him, and supped another time; but other communication than passed at table he had none with him, though he understands since, that he gave out and fathered many things upon him that were neither so nor so. Surely he hath a wonderful memory, for he not only calls to mind any matter that passed at any time, but the very time, place, persons, and all other circumstances, which seemed strange to me, in a discourse of almost two hours. The next day, he had invited a Dutchman, one Hoste, as I take it, of Amsterdam. I think his father to be one of the States. The man is toward forty years old, and seems a good scholar, and had travelled. He told the bishop, that the States had made a reasonable answer to the king's letter, but, by the cunning or power of Barnevelt and two or three more, it was suppressed, and not sent.

The last week, Sir John Hungerford's son was censured in the Star Chamber, for sending a challenge to Sir George

Marshall, one of the king's escuyers, for abusing his father, and giving him the lie in his throat. The young gentleman answered well and modestly for himself, but yet he was sentenced at £1000 fine, to be prisoner two years in the Tower, and never to wear arms without the king's special license.

I hear your brother and Sir Hercules Underhill was knighted, at the king's being at the Lord Compton's.

I met, yesterday, with Master Pory, who related at large to me the kind usage he found with you. I seemed to marvel how he could leave you; but I perceive, by him, that the least whistling may call him again; and, to say the truth, he did intimate as much. But, because I rather incline to your nephew's advancement, I would hold it in suspense, till I may hear more of him when his father comes, or from you, to this purpose.

I met with Ned Sherburn the last week, and he made me believe I should not fail of him in Paul's every Star Chamber-day, which is his vacation, being then dispensed for waiting, by express appointment. While Mr. Secretary was sick, he came from his lord with a complimental visit, and, being not admitted a good while, and I coming in the way, he made his moan to me, and I presently moved it to Mr. Secretary, who sent me to him to bring him to his lady, who gave him a formal answer, as I was put to it divers times during his languishing, both to Sir Edward Cecil, Sir Thomas Somerset, the Lord Hay, and others. But, in truth, both those times I found Mr. Sherburn so dry and reserved toward me, that have been so open-hearted to him, as I did not look for. But perhaps he was in no good mood, or had bees in his head; for I hear since that he hath had rubs among his fellows, and been almost laid on his nose.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 8, 1617.

The next day, after I wrote my last, meeting with your brother Carleton, I conferred with him about his son,

and told him, in effect, what you had written, and what a furtherance it might be to him every way, in my opinion. But I perceive, by him, that he had written to you already, in answer to two letters he had from you to the same purpose, and would not resolve till he heard from you again.

Your brother Harrison is in town, likewise, and upon Wednesday came Sir Henry Saville. They do all apprehend how much the Lady Hatton might prevail, if she would set her whole mind and strength to it. And I think they have, and will find means, to put her in remembrance. But the voice goes, that the place is not likely to be disposed of in haste; for the king says, he was never so well served as when he was his own secretary, and to that end hath delivered the seals that were belonging to Sir Ralph Winwood, to the custody of the Earl of Buckingham, and there perhaps they shall remain till they both grow weary of the trouble. In the mean time, Sir Thomas Lake hath gotten possession of the lodging at court, and of the diet; and it was said awhile, that he had the seals, and a warrant for allowance of the £1400 yearly for intelligence, but it falls not out so.

The 1st of this month, being so solemn a day, and the streets, by reason of the lord mayor's passage to Paul's, the earl, accompanied by the Marquis Hamilton, the Lord Compton, the Lord Hay, Sir Edward Cecil, and I know not how many more, to the number of twelve coaches, went to fetch the Lady Hatton from Sir William Craven's, and brought her to her father's, at Cecil House, in the Strand, where she hath continued ever since, saving that on Tuesday she went with little state to the court, and there was much greeted by the king, who likewise reconciled her to the queen, and made, at the same time, an atonement 'twixt her and the Lady Compton, and a perfect peace 'twixt her and her daughter, who would not be persuaded that she would forgive and forget, till, at parting, she got the king to make her swear that she loved her as dearly as ever she did in her life. That night there was a great feast at her father's, where the Earl of Buckingham, and most of the lords about court, were enter-

tained. The king was to have supped last night with her at Hatton House, but I hear it is put off till this day at dinner; and so, from thence he goes to Theobalds, at night. It is hoped he will likewise mediate a peace 'twixt her and Sir Edward Coke, which was mentioned and motioned at the general pacification. But the king said, that was a matter of more difficulty and more time, and, when all were done, I doubt that would prove but a palliated cure, the wound being so deep, that *manet altâ mente repostum*, so that he is, as it were, *in statu quo prius*, saving that he comes to the Star Chamber, and to the council table. And thus you see the revolutions of these times.

The king, before his departure, had pricked the new sheriffs of shires; but, because I think you know few or none of them, the rest are not worth the rehearsing.

The Bishop of Winchester hath bestowed great cost in repairing and beautifying his house at St. Mary Overy's, and on Monday, to warm it, he made a great feast to all the lords and others of quality that went the Scottish journey.

On Thursday, the Lord Hay married his mistress, the Lady Lucy Percy, and that night the king and prince honoured his wedding supper with their presence at the Wardrobe. On Wednesday, the 5th of this present, young King,[1] the Bishop of London's eldest son, of the age of twenty-three years, preached at Paul's Cross. It was thought a bold part of them both, that so young a man should play his first prizes in such a place and such a time, being, as he professed, the *primitæ* of his vocation, and the first sermon that ever he made. But this world, they say, is made for the presumptuous. He did reasonably well, but nothing extraordinary, nor near his father, being rather slow of utterance, *orator parum vehemens*. He hindered me from hearing the Bishop of Ely, whose text that day at court was, *that we, being delivered out of the hands of our enemies, might serve him without fear;* and they say he handled it excellently.[2]

[1] Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester.
[2] This discourse is printed among his "Sermons," p. 983.

This week, Sir John Merrick is arrived from Muscovia, where he hath been these three years and a half, and hath effected his business with good approbation. He was yesterday with the king, who used him very well and graciously, and had long conference with him. There is come an ambassador with him from thence, accompanied with seventy-five persons, to the great charge of that company upon whose account they are like to tarry here seven or eight months. He would fain have had audience before the king's going, but his furniture, and some of his company, being not yet come to town, the king would not stay his leisure, though he have brought some presents to his liking, as white hawks, live sables, and I know not what else.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, November 8, 1617.

Your letter of the 31st of the last was the last of many which I have received concerning the sad news of Mr. Secretary Winwood's decease, but the particulars thereof made it the most welcome; and if the concurrence in grief for his loss, of many here, may any way assuage yours there, I do not think any one of our nation, since the death of that nobleman to whom Mr. Secretary once belonged (the news whereof I received in your letter, being then in this town), hath been so generally lamented. I would say thus much to his virtuous and sorrowful lady, and add such comforts as usually pass betwixt friends on such occasions, if I thought her grief were usual, and to be eased by words. But I fear a contrary effect; and, therefore, will desire you to say for me, which is necessary in assurance of my service as due to his memory, who is with God, and to herself and hers.

Touching myself, who am (as I find by many letters, and from some whom I never knew before) brought upon the stage amongst other *candidates*, you shall know in few words.....*nostram rationem*. The Archbishop of Spalato and Mr. Brent assure me of my Lord of Canterbury; Sherburn of my lord keeper; Ben Rudier of my lord

chamberlain; Master Pory of my Lady Elizabeth .....; others, of other lords and ladies; and Sir Horace Vere gives me good hope of my Lord Arundel. But the principal best waits all this while, who, unless he be made unto me by some of those before mentioned, I have no hope, being a stranger to him, and absent. Amongst all the pretenders you name, I give way, notwithstanding, to none but to Sir Thomas Edmondes, with whom it is not fit for me to enter into competition. But, if he be contented with his place he hath already, I pray you advise with him for the fittest means for my good, which, if he undertake, he hath knowledge and dexterity to set all these wheels going; which may carry me farther than my own, with which I flatter myself very little, for all the encouragements I receive from my friends. I send a letter herewith to Mr. Pory, which, I pray you, convey speedily unto him, he being lodged in the Strand, but I know not where, save only by description, at the next house where Sir Barnard Dewhurst died.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 15, 1617.

Touching Secretary Winwood's heart, and good meaning towards you, I was minded, though your letter had not given me occasion, at this time, to have written a passage we had the second day of his sickness. Upon my motion for your remove into France, he gave me divers reasons why you were better continued where you are, wishing even earnestly that he had never left it. But I, answering all with the regard of your health, and pressing it hard, he fell to conjure me to deal freely with him, what occasion of distaste you had taken, or he had given you, at your last being here, reckoning up withal what good offices he had done you, both then and before. I answered him truly, none that I knew or could perceive. Then he insisted upon the letter you sent at your departure. I answered him as I had done before, that I understood no more of it, but that, when you went away, you told me you had written somewhat, that you wished might be as

well taken as it was well meant. And sure I could imagine it to be nothing else but some advertisement to use more patience, and give milder answers to those that addressed themselves to him in business, a defect much noted in him, and whereof both you and I, with many others, his good friends, had heard divers complain. Whereupon he fell into large apology for himself, that the multiplicity of business, the importunity and impertinency of divers suitors, might make him forget himself, but he always carried an upright mind to do all men right as far as lay in him, with much other talk to like purpose. But, in conclusion, I find that men's dispositions and judgments are various, when that which, in all right and reason, should have been reputed for a great kindness, was so unkindly taken.

Your father, Saville, is gone into Kent to his daughter, Sedley. The day before his going I met him, and wished him to apply to the Lady Hatton, whom he had already visited, but moved her in nothing, because the time was not fit, but he meant to do it before he went. Some whisper that she is already engaged, and means to employ her full force, strength, and virtue for the Lord Haughton or Holles, who is become her prime privy councillor, and doth by all means interest and combine her with the Lady of Suffolk and that house; a man whom Sir Edward Coke can no ways endure, and from whose company he would fain, but cannot, debar her. The world speaks of large offers made in his behalf, but others say, that he which is already in place makes as large to keep him and all others out. Neither is it now so much worth the following, seeing he hath gotten very lately the £1400 a-year allowed for intelligence.

Sir Thomas Edmondes arrived here on Tuesday, and went yesterday toward Newmarket. On Thursday, I lighted on him at his lodging in Salisbury Court, but had little conference with him, by reason of the multitude of visits, and his own haste to go forth. But thus much he assured me, that no conditions could now make him affect the place, or undertake it, if it were offered to him. He hath brought over half a dozen Barbary horses and gennets.

Very dainty pieces they seem to be, but how he came by them, or what use he means to make of them, I know not.

The king went not on Saturday, as he proposed, but staid Sunday to entertain the Muscovian ambassador, who had solemn audience, though with great confusion, by reason of the throng. And Sir Edward Coke, by what mischance I know not, stumbled and fell there before all the company. Besides the principal ambassador, there is a chancellor in commission with him, and three other special courtiers, that stand covered. Their presents were carried publicly by their own people, and were the greatest that ever came thence, the very furs being estimated by those that are skilful, at better than £6000, though some talk of much more. There were divers hawks, with coats or coverings of crimson satin and other colours, embroidered with pearl, a rich Persian dagger and knife, bows and arrows, Persian cloth of gold, with divers other things I remember not. I was promised a list of all, but, seeing it comes not, I must tarry till my next. The king was very much pleased, and the more when he understood Queen Elizabeth never had such a present thence.

The Lady Hatton's feast was very magnificent, and the king graced her every way, and made four of her creatures knights: Sir Peter Chapman, that belongs to the Lord of Exeter; Sir Francis Needham, an old solicitor 'twixt her and Sir Christopher Hatton; Sir Nathaniel Rich, a kinsman of Sir Roberts; and one Withipole, a kinsman of her own. But the principal graces and favours lighted on the Lady Compton and her children, whom the king praised and kissed, and blessed all those that wished them well.

This week, on Wednesday, she[1] made a great feast to the Lady Hatton, and much court there is between them; but, for aught I can hear, the Lady Hatton holds her hands, and gives not her milk so freely as was expected, which in time may turn the wind about again. There were some errors at the Lady Hatton's feast (if it were not on purpose), that the lord chamberlain and the Lord of Arundel were not invited, but went away to their own dinner, and came back to wait on the king and prince. But the greatest

[1] Lady Compton.

error was, that the good man of the house was neither invited nor spoken of, but dined that day at the Temple.

Here is a speech that the Earl of Buckingham means to resign the mastership of the horse to the Marquis of Hamilton, and is to compound with the lord admiral for his place. I understood no court mysteries, but, if the case were mine, I should not allow of the exchange for many reasons.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 29, 1617.

This long term is come to an end at last, but with so little variety of anything worth the relating, that I never knew a more barren time. Yet what is wanting in weight you shall have in measure, as you may perceive by the largeness of this packet, which grows great with your own store, saving an ill-compacted piece that comes from Dr. Carleton, elected Bishop of Llandaff, by the removal of Dr. Goodwin to Hereford, whereof he had the reversion during the life of Dr. Bennet, lately deceased; which unusual kind of reversions may chance grow common in time, for Dr. Hewson hath already that of Oxford after the present incumbent.[1]

There is also a letter from Mr. Powlet, which, he says, concerns both you and his brother. It is not like I shall trouble you with any more from Mr. Wake, when he once understands the decease of Secretary Winwood, and that his good friend, Sir Thomas Lake, is in so full possession. I am much beholden to him for his patience in continuing so long, having had nothing from me since Whitsuntide, and that being in a sort or cutting off so costly intercourse. I know not how welcome your English speech will be to you, but it is here very current. The other pamphlet of Cocaya is newly come forth, but yesterday, and I have read little more of it than the title.

Touching your business, and the many friends you find and well-wishers to it, I speak it impartially, that you are generally named as most fit; but it goes not always by

[1] Dr. John Bridges.

voices, and I did apprehend it at first and so do still, that if the Lady Hatton had taken it to heart when time was, it might have been effected. But she was all for that minion of hers, which, not succeeding, though she should change her mind, yet I doubt she could not do it so easily hereafter. For there was a time, when nothing would have been denied her that she could in reason have demanded; but that first heat being cooled, she may blow her nails twice before it kindle again. And withal men speak diversely of her manner of proceeding, and think her rather bent to pull down her husband than to use her power or favour either, for her own good, or her friends. Yet the king gave him good words at parting, willing him to apply the Star Chamber and the council chamber till his return, and that he should receive no wrong.

The young Lady Villiers is sent to her aunt, Sir Christopher Parkins's lady, some say upon discontent, others more likely, that the humour in Sir John Villiers's leg bursts forth again, so that her company might do him harm. Howsoever, he is accounted but a weak man, so that there needed not so much ado to get him a wife.

The Sweden ambassador is arrived, and lies at the Italian Ordinary. I do not hear but he must tarry for audience till the king's return. Here is the Prince of Anhalt's son, a fine young gentleman, they say, and well accompanied. The prince[1] went two days since towards Newmarket to the king. He is practising for a masque at Christmas, which they say shall be at the Earl of Buckingham's charges.

There is one returned from seeking the Lord Roos, and hath not found him. Sir Thomas Lake and his lady have put in a bill into the Star Chamber, against certain that have had heretofore dealings with him, and another bill into the Chancery, which, upon the answer of the parties, is dismissed the court; and now the Earl of Exeter proposes a cross bill in the Chancery, against Sir Thomas and his lady, in the Lord Roos's behalf, who, it is thought, will soon return, if he find that his grandfather and father mean to stick to him.

[1] Charles.

By the remove of the dean of Westminster to the bishopric of Lincoln, the mastership of the Savoy is likewise void, which they say shall be bestowed upon the Archbishop of Spalato, though one Balcanqual, a Scottish man, pretends a promise in it. I doubt the place to be of no great worth, yet somewhat hath some favour.

The Lady Winwood returns great thanks to you and my lady for your kind remembrance of her. She hath put off most of his servants and dealt with them all, giving the gentlemen twenty pounds a-piece, and the meaner sort after like proportion. John More and Abraham Williams have reversions of the clerkship of the signet, and the latter is in possibility, or rather in a kind of possession, both by promise and practice, of Walgrave's place, that was agent here for the Palsgrave and the Lady Elizabeth.

Blundell is now at Newmarket about the obtaining of Sir Humphrey May's place for the business of Ireland, he being willing to resign it, and this man is thought as fit as any both by the king and the Earl of Buckingham, so that, if he get it all, Sir Ralph Winwood's secretaries are well provided for so short a service.

John Chamberlain,[1] *Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.*

London, January 17, 1617-18.

I have little to add to what I wrote the last week, more than the knighting of Sir John Bingley at Theobalds, where the play or interlude did not rise to the expectation, but rather fell out the wrong way, specially by reason of a certain song, sung by Sir John Finett, wherein the rest bear the burden, of such scurrilous and base stuff, that it put the king out of his good humour, and all the rest that

[1] At the commencement of the following letter the writer complains of the very objectionable character of one of the dramatic entertainments performed before the court: but this evil was in a great measure owing to the king, whose low taste the dramatists had continued to gratify, till their language had become such an outrage upon common decency, that even his majesty thought proper, in this instance at least, to seem ashamed of it. This is the great reproach of the dramatic literature of the time, and though we are far from considering the authors free from censure, the fault rests much more with their patrons than with themselves. It is very clear that Sir John Finett would not have ventured to sing the "certain song" mentioned in the letter, unless "the scurrilous and base stuff," of which it is said to have been composed, was thought agreeable to the audience for which it had been written.

heard it. And I marvel the more that, amongst so many, none had the judgment to see how unfit it was to bring such beastly gear in public before a prince. For besides those I named in my last, Sir William Uvedal, Sir Thomas Jerningham, Sir Arthur Lake, and George Garret,[1] were of the concert.

On Sunday last, Bayley, that came away from Sir Walter Raleigh, was from the council table committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse. Our Merchant Adventurers have lately lent, or rather given, by way of present to the king, £50,000, for their antient privileges and immunities, and to be protected and secured from interlopers: wherein there will be some difficulty, seeing they claim and challenge free traffic by the laws of the realm, and their birthright; and divers of them are committed to the Marshalsea for refusing to enter into bonds to desist. In the mean time, the merchants, having paid in the major part of this money, hold their hand for the remainder till this point be better cleared. Wherein the present recess makes for their advantage, howsoever they speed hereafter.

We have now four masters of Requests in ordinary: Sir Christopher Parkins, Sir Sidney Montagu, Sir Lionel Cranfield, and Sir Ralph Freeman, appointed to wait by months. But the king says, as these fail, he will reduce them to the wonted number of two.

Sir Humphrey May is surveyor of the Court of Wards, since Sir Robert Naunton was made secretary; at least, so it is given out. But many things are said that come not always to pass. As I wrote you that the Archbishop of Spalato was master of the Savoy, and Balconqual clerk of the closet: but yet it is neither so, nor so, though it was reported for truth. But on twelfth-day the poor man gave the king a petition, wherein he complained, that he was driven to live *alienâ quadrâ*, and that in a country and place of such abundance he should be *omnium egentissimus*. I hear the king gave him a new-year's gift of

[1] Several of Dr. Donne's letters are addressed to him. (1651, 4to.) It is presumed that his name was Gerrard, that he corresponded in that name with the Earl of Strafford, and was chosen master of the Charter House, in 1617-18.

a place to the value of a hundred pounds, and the lord chancellor gave him one of forty.

Sir Thomas Lake's barony is at a stand; for having obtained the making of one, he found means to name himself, which the king yielded to: but then it was remonstrated to the king, how unfit it was, that a man of his fashion and education should have precedence of all the barons in England, (as by virtue of his office he was to have) the king said that was not his meaning: but because he had promised he should be a baron, if he would, so that he left his office of secretary; which he means not to do, unless ambition prevails very much with him and his lady, who is said to have brought him into a strange labyrinth, by accusing the Lady of Exeter of practising to poison the daughter of the Lady Roos, and sending for a servant of hers by a wile, who he himself examined, and kept prisoner in his own house, which is thought somewhat hard in his own cause.

The king, at his going hence, appointed the lord chancellor and the two lords chief justices to examine the matter, who upon Monday had the Lady of Exeter, and others before them, but, for aught I hear, can make little or nothing of it, which, if it so fall out, no question but my Lord of Exeter and his and her friends will by all means prevent the slander and scandal.

Sir Henry Cary's business is where it was; and so I think will continue till the king's return hither.

We hear nothing yet out of Spain one way or other.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 23, 1618.

Sir George Calvert, clerk of the council, is made secretary of state, in Sir John Lake's place. Read, who sometimes attended upon Sir Fulk Greville, is, by his means, preferred to be secretary of the Latin tongue. Stukeley and his son are both pardoned; only the father is deprived of his place of vice-admiral of the western parts. Sarah Swarron,[1] being upon the point of receiving her punish-

[1] Servant of Lady Roos.

ment, offered to confess divers things, in case she might be pardoned, whereupon she was carried to my lord chief justice, who hath taken her confession, and sent it sealed up to the king; and, in the mean time, execution of the sentence is at least suspended.

My Lord Hay is appointed to go ambassador to Vienna, to help to accommodate matters between the Bohemians and Ferdinand their king; some say upon the instances of Spain, others to cut off all occasion from the Spaniard entering with his forces into those States. Before Easter, he is to take his journey, and hath commission, as I hear, to return by Lorraine.

The Conde de Gondomar writes how he is appointed to go and be lieger into France, but first to come extraordinary ambassador in these parts; which makes such as are affected to the Spanish match conceive good hopes of success.

My Lady Harrington hath her congée to depart from Heidelberg, by the Palsgrave and by our king likewise, and is expected here within these three weeks, to be at the celebration of the marriage between her grandchild, Mrs. Chichester, and the Marquis of Hamilton's son.

From France, we hear for certain that the Duke of Espernon hath stolen away the queen mother, and carried her away into his government of Angoulême, where he fortifies himself against the king. Mayaux hath reprinted his Grammar of the French Language anew, and dedicated it to our rear-admiral, sometime his scholar; he presented it by his son, who received in recompense 100 Jacobuses for his father, and twenty more for his own charges. *C'est de les faire riches tous deux.*

Your parsonage in Lincolnshire is to be compounded for. The party who is instated in it for the present means to sell his title, and Sir Thomas Grantham hath made stay thereof, that you may have the refusal.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 31, 1617-18.

The king is yet at Newmarket, but means to be here at Shrovetide, if his leg or arm will give him leave, of both

which he hath complained now this fortnight, and keeps altogether within doors.

Sir John Deckham died on Thursday[1] of a lethargy, or by disease, leaving one son and two daughters, and thirteen or fourteen hundred pound land, with seven or eight thousand pound debt. There is a great posting and pursuit for his place,[2] to which a world of competitors pretend; for now that the market is open, every one thinks his penny good silver. Though Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Edward Coke, both the secretaries, and some others, hope to have it gratis, yet Sir Thomas Savage, Sir Richard Weston,[3] Sir Lionel Cranfield, and I know not how many more, go to it by the plain way of purchase, wherein, they say, the Lord Holles makes the fairest offer, if he may have a councillorship with it. But it is given out that the king hath no manner of liking to him in any sort, neither [boiled] nor roasted.

The Lord Cavendish hath lost his younger son, whom he had by his lady, a very hopeful and towardly young gentleman, of some dozen years old, and already knighted; so is like to prove a good windfall in Sir William's way; for the father was purposed to leave him £6000 land, besides goods, which had been a large portion for a younger brother.

The lord chancellor on Tuesday went by warrant to the Lord Wotton to receive his staff, which he sent away immediately to the king; and on Thursday Mr. Comptroller and Sir Henry Cary followed it, with expectation, or rather assurance, to interchange to-morrow or next day. Young Sir Henry Mildmay is already in possession, and master of the Jewel House.

Sir Thomas Edmondes is in concert with the duke,[4] to farm the green wax, as they call it, or the seal of the exchequer, which, it is thought, will prove a matter of great benefit to them. As likewise the lord chancellor farms the great seal or subpœnas, which the world judges cannot be so little worth as £2000 clear profit yearly. In the mean time, divers other officers fare the worse, and are impaired by these parings.

[1] January 27. [2] Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
[3] Afterwards chancellor of the Exchequer, lord treasurer, and Earl of Portland.
[4] Of Lennox.

The Lady Roos's business with the Lady of Exeter hath been heard twice or thrice; and the whole process sealed up and sent to the king. I hear the Lord of Exeter hath sent to crave leave to prosecute the contrivers of this scandal against his wife in the Star Chamber. He was nothing contented with the carriage of the cause, but did moderately complain of hard measure. Whereupon the lord chancellor wrote to him to set down his grievances; which he refusing, and, if the hard weather had permitted, pretending to go to the king. I hear that he went to him himself to give him all satisfaction.

The last week our Recorder Benn was put out of commons at the Temple, and debarred of pleading at any bar by the judges, for falling foul of the lord chief justice[1] at the sessions, and telling him he had no more to do there than an ordinary justice; but, by late letters from Newmarket, he is restored, and all things shut up *sub silentio*.

Our East Indian fleet is setting out, and some of them gone down to Gravesend. They go stronger and more than ever heretofore, being nine good ships and of great burden, three or four of them new built. Sir Thomas Dalton should go general; but, if he comes not back from you the sooner, he is like to be left behind, and so lose his employment.

The king hath given a patent to one Sir James Cottingham, a Scottish knight, to raise an East India Company there, whereof he and his heirs are to be governors, none to be admitted but by his and their approbation. They have liberty to trade into the East and West Indies, Turkey, Greenland, or to any other place already discovered, or to be discovered. They may furnish themselves of shipping, mariners, victual, or anything else they need in any port of England, where all officers are to assist them, as likewise they may vent their commodities here, and that which in the reading it seemed to me most strange, that not only Scots, but English or any other stranger, may be admitted into this society; and yet it must be called and accounted the Scottish Company, with a number of other large privileges, which do directly infringe former grants, and cross

[1] Sir Edward Montagu.

the whole course of our traffic. But the best is, they do only yet make a noise and show, and seek all over for partners and adventurers, which come slowly in; and, as I hear, would fain compound and sell their rights and interests to the East India Company.

The Lord Delawar is returning to Virginia, and carries with him seven or eight score men. Sir Thomas Gates makes account to follow him some time this next summer.

The Venetian ambassador is busy in hiring ships here to serve the Signory; and hath agreed with Sir Henry Peyton to carry thither 500 soldiers, whereat, I hear, the Spanish ambassador storms exceedingly; and though he be very crazy, yet hath not the patience to tarry the king's coming, but is gone to Newmarket to hinder all he can; wherein, I fear, he shall have the better audience, for that it is secretly whispered that our business in Spain is in good forwardness, being of late bruited here that it was utterly broken off.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carlton.

London, February 14, 1617-18.

Your letters of the 3rd of this present were delivered here by Mr. Baskerville the 10th. I thank you very much for the papers that accompanied them, which I will return when I have thoroughly read and perused them, which I have not yet done, by reason of our lectures at Paul's this term-time, and after I once go out of doors in the morning, I seldom come home till late at night. You need not misdoubt the passing of them through many hands, for I am now come to that pass, that I keep not any company that cares for such matters, or that, indeed, are capable of them, saving Mr. Camden, who makes a journey once a week into Paul's, the more to meet and show me such occurrents as he hath from Mr. Beecher, and others out of France; which, together with what I have from you, is now in a manner all the entertainment I have.

I made an errand to Ely House, to have shown the bishop the pope's determination 'twixt the Franciscans

and Jacobins, if he had not seen it; as likewise what you wrote concerning Grotius, to make him, at least, more wary hereafter, though, for aught I ever heard, he hath used caution enough that way; but he was at Lambeth, and lies now at Whitehall, where, in Secretary Winwood's time, I came but seldom, and now not at all.

Mr. Pory is come back. I met with him two day's since, and he will not be known that he was farther than Turin, and south parts of France, whether he would seem to have some employment. He talks much of Mr. Wake, what credit he is, what a pot and table he keeps, more like an ambassador than an agent; and that he is in such favour with the duke, that he will do nothing without him.

The Earl of Shrewsbury[1] died here this week. A kinsman of his, called Talbot,[2] of Grafton, succeeds in the earldom; but I think his land returns to his brother's daughters,[3] as heirs general both to their father and him. In this small time that he was earl, he had recovered £8000 from them and their mother.

I know not whether I wrote you, that Dr. Blincour[4] is lately dead at Oxford, leaving to the value of £3000, a good part whereof he bestowed upon Oriel College. There hath been somewhat ado about the choice of a new provost, the lord chancellor labouring for a chaplain of his, one Lewis,[5] a man of twenty-six years old, who, I hear, by his means hath carried it, Mr. Sherburn having been employed hither three or four days about it. The Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London stood for others of more years and gravity; but the lord chancellor expostulating with the Bishop of London for crossing him in this business, he told him he did it only in respect of the unfitness of his age, which was the way to bring the university, and the government of it, into contempt, when such striplings should be made the heads of houses. Whereto he replied, that he respected not minority of years where there was majority of parts.

[1] Edward, eighth earl. [2] George, ninth earl.
[3] Mary, married to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; Elizabeth, to Henry Grey, Earl of Kent; and Alathea, to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.
[4] Anthony Blincour, LL.D.
[5] William Lewis, D.D., Prebendary of Winchester. He died in 1667.

He hath lately taken order, that serjeants-at-law shall, in all commissions of the peace, have place of knights: whereat they begin to storm, and it may prove a general grievance among them.

Dr. Abbot, bishop of Salisbury, buried his wife in November last, and in January married Dr. Cheynell's widow, a physician of Oxford. The Archbishop of Canterbury was nothing pleased with it when he heard of it, nor I think nobody else that wished him well. I told you of one Simpson of Cambridge, that preached some Arminian points before the king; which being appointed to retract in the same place, when he came he made a very excellent sermon otherwise, but spake not a word of that was looked for and enjoined him. Whereat the king was much displeased, and hath since taken order, that in another sermon he shall clearly deliver his mind in such and such points.

Here is one Thraske, who was first a puritan, then a Separatist, and now is become a Jewish Christian, observing the Sabbath on a Saturday, abstaining from swine's flesh, and all things commanded in the law. You will not think what a number of foolish followers he hath in this town, and some other parts, and yet he hath not been long of this opinion. He and divers of them are in prison, but continue obstinate; whereby a man may see there can arise no such absurd opinion but shall find followers and disciples.

One Dr. Wellet,[1] who hath been a writer, and is beneficed in Cambridgeshire,[2] is committed to the custody of Dr. White, for writing and dispersing among some friends and gentlemen in Norfolk and Suffolk a Treatise against the Spanish Match, which they say goes on with might and main; and that certain commissioners are to come thence presently, after Sir John Digby's return, among whom is named the Duke of Braganza. But whether this be true or no, the Spanish ambassador gives out to his friends, that it is certainly concluded, and wants nothing but formalities.

Here was a rumour, that we shall shortly have four or

[1] Andrew Willett, D.D. [2] At Burley.

five dukes made; that Sir John Villiers is to be created a lord or viscount, and his mother, the Lady Compton, a countess or marchioness, though her husband be not to rise, but to continue where he is. I should not write these unlikely things, but that now-a-days what seems most improbable mostly comes soonest to pass.[1]

The king comes to town this day, but how long he stays, and what else comes to hand, you shall have in my next.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carlton.

London, February 21, 1617-18.

I went again this week to my Lord of Ely, and had some speech with him concerning Grotius, from whom he confesses he had letters lately, and that before Christmas one came to him for an answer; but, being presently to preach at court, and not finding himself well at ease, he made his excuse. But I perceive by this that he holds him for a very learned and able man; yet I doubt not but this little conference will serve him for a caveat hereafter. I lent him the Pope's determination 'twixt the Franciscans and Jacobins, and the censure of the Sorbonists upon the Archbishop of Spalato's books, which I met with all by chance, neither of which he had seen.

On Shrove Tuesday the prince's masque for Twelfth Night was represented again, with some few alterations and additions, but little bettered. On Thursday night the gentlemen of Gray's Inn came to the court with their show, for I cannot call it a masque, seeing they were not disguised, nor had vizards. For the rest, their fashion and device were well approved, though it were thought to be somewhat out of season to revel in Lent. The cause whereof was, that they would not be turned into the Hall, as was appointed, on Shrove Monday, by reason that the prince's shows and devices could not be set up and orderly placed in so short time, if they should possess the Banqueting Room the night before; but, seeing no reason nor persuasions would serve their turn, they must of necessity be put off till Thursday, or some time longer. The queen

[1] It did come to pass. Sir John was created Viscount Purbeck, and his mother Countess of Buckingham.

was not present at either of them, but keeps close at Denmark House. There be a number of fine young gallants about the court, more than I formerly mentioned, specially young Bell and Rookwood. This mustering of minors, and pressing so fast forward, makes the world suspect that it is toward a turning water.

Dr. John Donne preached yesterday at Whitehall; but the king was not there, being weary belike of the former night's watching.

There is a speech, of the king's going to Royston, or Newmarket, all this Lent. But it is said, he means to spend the time about Hampton, Okem, and such places hereabout, most part of the week, and come back every Saturday.

There was so good order taken, and so strong watches and guards set in divers places, that our 'prentices did little harm on Shrove Tuesday. Yet they had a cast at New Bridewell, beyond St. John's Street, and pulled down two or three houses in other places. They have grown of late to that number and insolency, that they will hardly be suppressed, without doing or receiving some great mischief.

Mr. Trumbull is going over again, having obtained double allowance for his entertainment hereafter, upon the precedent of Mr. Becher: and no doubt but Mr. Wake will follow the example.

Here is a poor Spaniard that hath lived a very austere life, these ten or eleven years, about this town, conversing with nobody. Of late, I know not how, he is fallen into blasphemous speeches, and assertions of our Saviour, his apostles, Moses, David, and generally of all scripture; for which he hath been convented now thrice, before the high commission, and, on Thursday next, is his last day. What they will do with him, God knows; but I verily think he is distracted, though he seem to answer reasonably to some questions. He hath been a Cistercian monk, and hath some little philosophy, but no great learning any way. He was well affected, and came daily to service at St. Paul's and other places, and hath received the communion; but for these three or four years hath abstained. He is a

miserable creature, and hath not shifted anything about him these five or six years; inasmuch that I am persuaded, the very stench and nastiness that he carrieth about him hath distempered his brain. I write the more of him, because he is, in a manner, all the talk we have; and some foolish preachers recite his blasphemies and opinions in the pulpit.

The prince was purposed to send Sir Thomas Howard as his deputy to the christening at Heidelberg, but the queen not being minded to send any for her part, it is thought more fit to appoint two gentlemen ushers, who are to make choice of deputies there, for the avoiding of further charge and trouble.

Mr. Adam Newton to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 26, 1617-18.

Because I have a mind to requite you with news, which you may perchance by some of your friends here know better than myself, our king and council, at this time, are troubled with no business so much as the foul matter betwixt your good acquaintance, the Countess of Exeter,[1] and the Lady Roos[2] and her mother.[3] Sir Thomas Lake would draw it from the council table to the Star Chamber: and it is thought thither it must go, because that is the just and ordinary course of law. But, in the meanwhile, the said Lady Roos and her maid are committed, herself to my Lord Bishop of London, since Monday last; the cause thereof is thought, because she would not give direct answer to the lords of the council of that she was demanded; which is said to be something concerning her husband, that she had revealed unto the king in secret, upon his majesty's promise to conceal it.[4] But she stands upon the point of honour, that she will tell no more tales. The business is handled with great violence, and my Lady Exeter not only challenged of a purpose to imprison the young lady, but assertions laid upon her honesty many ways, namely, a precontract, alleged with Sir James Crane,

[1] Frances Bridges, second wife of Thomas Cecil, Earl of Exeter.

[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake, secretary of state, was married February 12, 1616-17, to William, Lord Roos, grandson of Thomas, Earl of Exeter.

[3] Mary, eldest daughter of Sir William Ryder, Lord Mayor of London in 1600.

[4] Of this extraordinary transaction the reader will learn more presently.

who, you know, served Sir Thomas Smith, her first husband. Too much familiarity alleged with my Lord Roos himself. How these things may be made apparent many do doubt. Amongst other proofs, her own letters to the Lady Roos are produced: one confessing she had done her wrong, &c. But this the king himself, upon comparing with others, suspects to be counterfeit. What it will turn to God knows; but the indifferent judges do apprehend that, by some subtle and working spirit, there be tricks put upon both parties. You may remember, that no man was thought to have greater wrong by that marriage than yourself. Therefore, it behoveth you, brother, to look to it, that your finger be not in it. One Lucas Hatton is said to have been the first informer of the Lady Lake and her daughter, of the plots laid against them by the countess, and they affirm they will prove it. Yet he doth mainly deny it, and is in prison. When I shall hear further of the business, you shall know more. In the meanwhile, you may bless yourself, and thank God that you missed of that bargain; at least so do I, who to you and yours wish all happiness and quietness, as to myself.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 28, 1617-8.

Had it not been for this enclosed, which I received yesterday, you had not heard of me this week; here being little or nothing to write, unless I should tell you that most of our young court gallants are vanished like mushrooms, by reason that, the day before the king's going to Theobalds, the lord chamberlain, by express order, told young Monson, that the king did not like of his forwardness, and presenting himself continually about him. That his father and uncle[1] were not long since called in question, for matters of no small moment. That his own education had been in such places, and with such persons, as was not to be allowed of. Wherefore, his majesty willed him, from henceforth, to forbear his presence; and, if he would follow his advice, he should likewise forbear the court. This was a shrewd reprimand, and cross blow, to some,

[1] Sir Thomas and Sir William Monson.

who, they say, made account to rise and recover their fortunes, by setting up this new idol, and took great pains in tricking and pranking him up, besides washing his face every day with posset-curd.[1]

On Sunday last, Lady Roos was, from the council-table, committed to the custody of the Bishop of London, with orders, that none should have access, or speak with her, but in his hearing. Her maid was then likewise committed to Mr. Doubleday; but Secretary Lake, by warrant from the council, went the next morning to his daughter, and had a long conference with her apart; and hath spoken with her once or twice since; in both which whether he have exceeded his commission, is a query, and as men are affected to the cause, or persons more or less questionable. The business is now in the king's hands; but with this caution from the Earl of Exeter, that he recommends it unto him as to a judge, and a honest judge, and not as an arbitrator. Sir Thomas Lake, and that side, desire to be left to the law, and that they may follow it in the Star Chamber; which the Earl of Exeter seeks by all means to avoid, as a dilatory course, and that more like to make an end of him sooner than the cause. For my part, I know not what to conjecture. But it should seem that Sir Thomas Lake and his are fallen into a labyrinth, whence they know not how to get out. For it behoves him to make good proofs of so heinous imputations against a lady of her sort. And it stands upon her likewise to clear herself of so foul scandals of precontracts, adultery, incest, murder, poison, and such like peccadilloes. I have gone farther in this matter than I meant at first; for it had been better to attend the issue, than to write so uncertainly, and by guess. But, for want of other news, I do only tell you what is said in Paul's.

The Lady Roos was committed, for refusing to answer certain questions at the council-table, whereto she had answered before, both to the king himself and to the commissioners. She is described and pointed out to be a very pert lady, and is said to domineer as much over her mother, as her mother doeth over some others.

[1] This shows to what a height the king's fancy for handsome young men had arrived: but the favourite detected the attempt to bring forward a rival, and had the power to defeat it, for a time.

H r younger brother, Sir Arthur Lake, would fain show himself a champion in this cause, and take any occasion to brabble; as the Marquis Hamilton and the Lord Hay were talking together, he overheard the Marquis say, merrily, that the king had need be another Solomon, to judge between the harlots; he, interposing, said he would justify the one to be none; and the Lord Hay, standing in defence of the honour of his grandmother, they had like to have grown to question, but that the Marquis excused his speech, as spoken without malice, but only in jest, as the text came into his mind.[1]

The Spaniard was not called on Thursday, *ad audiendum judicium*, as was appointed, but was put off till some other time. Some say, the king will take the cause into consideration, and order it as he shall find fit. Others say, the Spanish ambassador desires to have him delivered, that he may send him into Spain to be tried. The Lord of Arundel was with him in Bridewell, on Wednesday, and carried a divine or two with him; but no good came of it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 10, 1618.

We were never at so low an ebb for matter of news, especially public; so that we are fain to set ourselves a work with the poorest entertainment, that you have lightly seen, or heard of; as on Wednesday, with a race of two footmen from St. Albans to Clerkenwell; the one an Englishman, belonging lately to the Countess of Bedford, but now to the king; the other an Irish youth, that lost the day, and I know not how much money laid on his head. The sums no doubt were very great, when my Lord of Buckingham, for his part, went away with £3000; and, it is said for certain, there was more than twice as much won and lost that day. The Irish youth

[1] This is another fearful passage in the history of the times, in which forgery and incest were the principal features. "The case taken in all its bearings," says a popular historian, "will leave a very unfavourable notion of the morality of the age; and, if we couple it with the scene of iniquity by the history and trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset, will convince us, that at this period the most shameful and degrading vices were not uncommon among persons of the first rank and consideration in the state."—*Lingard*, vol. ix., p. 164.

serves Sir —— Howard, a younger son of the lord treasurer, and the general opinion is, that if the race had been shorter, and the weather and ways not so extreme foul, our man had been put to the worse, though he had made good proof of himself heretofore; and 'tis a very lusty, able fellow, but carried it now by main strength, so that the other gives over 'twixt this and Highgate, when he was not twice his length behind him. This story were not worth the telling, but that you may see we have little to do, when we are so far affected with these trifles, that all the court, in a manner, lords and ladies, some farther off, some nearer, went to see this race, and the king himself, almost as far as Barnet: and, though the weather was so sour and foul, yet he was scant *fils de bonne mère*, that went not out to see; insomuch, that it is verily thought there was as many people as at the king's first coming to London. And, for the courtiers on horseback, they were so pitifully bewrayed and bedaubed all over, that they could scant be known, one from another. Besides divers of them came to have falls and other mishaps, by reason of the multitude of horses.

The king went yesterday to Theobalds, and comes back to-morrow. The queen was yesterday at the Exchange; and, though she meant to go privately, yet, being discovered, she was no sooner in the above, but the press grew so great, that they were fain to shut the doors.

Young Monson's friends faint not for all the first foil, but set him on still. What grounds they have I know not; but this Easter he received the communion at my Lord of Canterbury's, by appointment. And when the king was lately moved to give him leave to travel, for that he could live with no contentment here, being debarred his presence, the king would not grant his license, and said that it was more than he knew that he was forbidden his presence. If this be true, and somewhat else I have heard, he is in a good way to come forwards, though perhaps not soon, but *pedetentim*. And, withal, the time grows on, wherein it hath been usually observed to have a Welter in court, as the Scotchmen call it. In the mean time, Somerset lives plentifully in the Tower, where he

builds, and translates his lodging; which he may the better do, if he have £3000 land allotted and assured him of late, as the speech goes.

I know not whether I wrote to you that the Bishop of Oxford[1] is dead; and the Lord of Montgomery lost his younger son on Good Friday. It is given out that the Archbishop of Spalato preaches again on Sunday sennight at Mercers' Chapel; and that, thenceforth, Calandrini, an Italian, born at Geneva, and brother to Burlamachi's wife, shall be established preacher of the St. Alban church.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 29, 1618.

I was in very good hope that we might have had you here this week, if the letter with your licence had found but an ordinary passage. For my lady counts the days and hours since her man's departure, and, according to her account, he might be with you in good time. But, as it falls out, I am not so sorry for your stay, as glad that you were not in the tempest we had here on Sunday night, at north-west, one of the sorest that I have heard; which puts me in remembrance and practice of that we pray for in the petition for *all that travel by land or by water*. In which number you were in my special memento, by way of provision, if you should need it. We have hitherto had a very untoward spring, and such as the oldest men alive say they have not seen the like, specially for this month of April; wherein it is observed, that there hath not a day past, but that, within the compass of twelve hours, there hath been either rain, hail, snow, or frost.

On Monday was se'nnight, the queen went from Denmark House to Whitehall, with somewhat more than usual state, being accompanied with most of the nobility about the court, and seven or eight and twenty coaches. Yesterday, she removed to Greenwich, and the king, the day before, to Theobalds, whence he comes back at the end of the week, and, after some little stay here, means to settle at Greenwich for some time; so that the journey

[1] Dr. John Bridges.

to Audley End, and into Norfolk, seems to be quite dashed aside and out of date.

St. George's day past with much solemnity, the lords and their followers being very gay and gallant, specially my Lord of Buckingham, who was very bountiful to forty of his gentlemen, in giving them £50 a-piece to provide themselves, and £20 a man to ten yeomen (which number of fifty they may not exceed, by a prescript order taken not long since), besides a hundred pounds he gave them to make them a supper and a play the next night, at the Mitre, in Fleet Street. I must not forget that Mr. Packer was there, very formally, in his blue coat, and a chain of diamonds, which I know not where he borrowed.

This day, one Wrangham, a gentleman of Norfolk, is brought into the Star Chamber *ore tenus*, (as they call it) for complaining of a decree made against him by the lord chancellor, contrary to two former decrees of his predecessor, and accusing him of injustice. Howsoever it it be, the poor gentleman is in the wrong, and suffered himself to be transported too far. For unless he can prove corruption, which were hard to do, he is like to undergo a sentence, and to be censured.

Our friend, little John More, is in a peck of troubles likewise, in that court, about a juggling deed of gift, as is pretended. It hath been heard two days already, and this day sennight is peremptorily set down when he shall know his doom. He carries out the matter well, and with great confidence; but I have heard some (not partial), that upon the former hearings misdoubt him more than he doth himself.

It is now fully resolved, that Sir Dudley Digges goes ambassador into Muscovy, about the end of the next month or the beginning of June.

Among a number of candidates for the bishopric of Oxford,[1] I hear Dr. Carleton, elect Bishop of Llandaff, is in most possibility. I could wish him a better that is like to fall shortly, if the Bishop of Winchester[2] be in so weak case

[1] Dr. John Howson succeeded to it.
[2] Dr. James Montague, who died July 20, 1618.

as is reported, that the first warm weather will carry him away of a dropsy.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Greenwich, June 16, 1618.

Germany is like to fall into combustion upon this occasion. The Protestants of Bohemia, conceiving some wrong done to them by their late elected king, who sought to abridge divers of their privileges and liberties, assembled one day at Prague, in the senate house, and thither summoned the secretary of state, and other such principal officers and counsellors, from whose suggestion and instigation they supposed it to proceed; and having first contested with them thereupon, threw them all out of a window, being very high, and killed some, maimed others; only the secretary, falling upon a dunghill, and being, as is reported, a man of little stature, received no harm at all, but fled and escaped, giving thereby occasion to the Papists of framing a new miracle. This so alarmed all the city of Prague, as most of the Papists there inhabiting took the alarm and fled, especially the religious houses, and amongst them none so forward as the Jesuits; albeit, the chief among the Protestants caused proclamation to be presently made, that no violence or insolence whatsoever should be offered unto any one. The Protestants, not staying here, immediately raised two regiments of foot, and a thousand horse, and put themselves into the field under the command of the Count of Tournon, as I remember, who was a principal actor in the exploit; and are likely, not only to frustrate the design that was had of holding a diet at Ratisbon, for the election of a new king of the Romans, July 24th, but of putting all that province into terrible combustion.

From Italy, we likewise hear of the discovery of a strange conspiracy and practice by the Spanish ambassador and the Pope's nuncio upon Venice, who, by certain instruments, to the number, it is said, of two hundred, resolved to set fire on their arsenal, to surprise St. Mark's, and despoil it of the treasure, and to possess themselves of the Rialto, where they meant to expect; whilst, in the

interim, the fire were given to the rest of the city, to the utter subversion of that State. Whereunto some add, that the Duke of Ossuna had, at the same time, another practice upon Corfu, which the governor of that island should have betrayed into his hands, and so make himself master of the gulf, had not all been happily brought to light (but I cannot tell by what means) upon the very point of execution.[1] Divers have been already executed for having been accessories to this conspiracy, more tortured to sound the full depth thereof. But the failing of this attempt, it seems, wrought so effectually with Don Pedro de Toledo, governor of Milan, as immediately he delivered up Vercelli into the Duke of Savoy's hands at a time when he least dreamed of it (Friday last was sennight); thereof the duke presently, by an express messenger, advertised our king. And some say these Spanish proceedings are no great good motives to persuade the marriage which is now in treaty.

The Spanish ambassador[2] took his leave here at court on Sunday was sennight, and was with a great deal of honour dismissed, both by the king and queen. And the voice is, that his majesty hath, in effect, yielded to all the articles; that of the children's education excepted, which is modified in this manner, that the mother shall have the sole bringing of them up, as long as usually was permitted unto mothers in Catholic times; which is as much as not at all. But that he will not declare himself, until the King of Spain shall have procured a dispensation from the Pope; and when that shall be obtained, then will be left sufficient matter of breaking, in devising the form of the oath.

Sir Thomas Lake continues in the same terms of disfavour and disgrace as before; neither is he further enlarged in his liberty, than by a permission that is given him of following his suits in law—that between Lord Burleigh and him chiefly, and to retire himself into the country, if he please; but though he makes large offers, yet is his blow supposed to be irrecoverable.

Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh I shall spare to write,

[1] "Histoire de Venise, par le Comte Daru," tome ii., livre 30. [2] Gondomar.

because I am sure you hear of his arrival here at London and the proclamation that is published concerning him.[1]

Sir Lionel Cranfield hath troubled much the household officers at court, by laying down a project to the king of saving him £12,000 a-year in his ordinary expense, and yet no man abridged of his allowance; which is, with this condition, imposed upon the said officers, that either they must make it good, or resign up their places unto him.

Yesterday, Daniel[2] and Sir George Reynolds were discharged the queen's service, and banished the court, only for having visited Sir Robert Floud in this his disgrace, or else for having formerly entertained amity with him.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

Greenwich, June 30, 1618.

Since my last letter, of the 23rd of this present,[3] the sentence against the Jew hath been put in execution, and a new cause determined in that supreme court against my Lady Shrewsbury, who, as I am sure you have heard, was committed to the Tower some months since, for refusing to answer to some interrogatories propounded unto her, upon a fame that was divulged abroad, how the Lady Arabella should have left a son to inherit her right; which resolution she peremptorily continued in the open face of the court, under pretence, forsooth, of a vow formerly made, of not answering to any article touching the said Lady Arabella, and was for that her obstinacy censured with a fine of £20,000, and perpetual imprisonment, unless, upon her voluntary submission in this particular, his majesty should graciously please to grant her enlargement. And for better clearing of the cause, and satisfaction of the world in that behalf, was read openly in court the

[1] Sir Walter had returned from an expedition, which the king had taken care should prove a failure, and the royal wrath burst upon him directly he landed.

[2] Samuel Daniel, the historian and poet, who had been groom of the privy chamber to Anne of Denmark. He died in October, 1619. He had been tutor to Anne Clifford, daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, who proved one of the most learned women of her time.

[3] This has not been preserved.

examinations and confessions upon oath of Sir William Seymour and the Lady Arabella's gentlewoman, who, from the day of her marriage, had ever more attended her till within a year of her death; the former whereof imports that his lady, indeed, once wrote to him, that she supposed herself to be with child; but that she was ever delivered of any he knew not. And the latter confirmed the like conceit of hers, and that her belly swelled, and made it very probable, but that an issue of blood followed, and the tumour fell and ceased; neither to her knowledge was she ever of any child delivered.

Sir Walter Raleigh's business rests yet in the same terms as before, only my Lord Carew was upon his knees before the king on Thursday last a good while on his behalf; and they say his majesty's answer was, that as good hang him as deliver him to the King of Spain, who certainly would; and one of these two he must, at least, if the case were so as the Spanish ambassador had represented it. And when my lord yet pressed him, "Why, the most thou canst expect," said the king," "is, that I would give him the hearing," and so dismissed him. And indeed a legal hearing is all that Sir Walter's well-wishers desire: for then they make no doubt but he will make his cause good against all accusations in this kind whatsoever.

Upon Friday last, at supper, and upon Saturday, at dinner, my Lord of Buckingham feasted the king and the prince: though the end whereunto it was designed, of reconciling his highness,[1] gave it the name of the *friends' feast*. His majesty then declared himself very highly in favour of the marquis. In the same room where the king and prince dined, was another board for the ladies and lords. My Lady Compton, my Lady Hatton, Sir John Villiers's lady, my Lady Fielding, and divers others of the same race, were there present: all which the king honoured by drinking to them, particularly one after another; and by secret message afterwards, and at the end of the dinner, rose up, and came personally to the table, and drank a common health to all the noble family, which he

[1] There had been a quarrel. The favourite, inflated with insolence, had attempted to strike the prince, and the king had reconciled them.

professed he desired to advance above all others. And because of himself there was no doubt; for, said he, "I live to that end." He assured the like in his posterity's name, that they would so far regard their father's commandments and instructions, as to advance that house above all others whatsoever.

They are very busy here how to bring within compass the king's ordinary expense. Yesterday they cut off four of the ships upon the narrow seas; that whereas heretofore eight attended that service—now the moiety must serve the turn. They are in hand, likewise, to bring a reformation into the stables; and every way is thought upon how to set the king straight, but the right.

Sir Walter Aston is to go ambassador into Spain, and they say with £2000 buys the employment. Sir John Digby makes a proffer to fill his place of vice-chamberlainship; and some think that the profit thereof shall pay my Lady Compton for Sir Thomas Lake's place, whom he hopes to succeed, and so frustrate Mr. Packer; who, though I wrote, shot fairest, yet is now like to yield to him, whose arrows are headed with gold.[1]

There hath been lately brought before the council a grievous complaint against certain persons of good estate, of being suspected as accessory to a foul murder committed upon the person of a valiant gentleman, Mr. Delavel, in the North. The justices of those parts have joined together in a remonstrance, that so either the lords might be moved to take the hearing the cause before them, or assist them by their authority in their proceedings: and herein enlarged themselves so far, as to fill a sheet of paper very full on all sides. The lords, offended with the needless length and prolixity of the letter, returned them this answer, which, for the laconical brevity thereof, I have thought not amiss to send you:—"We are sorry for the gentleman's death, and would have justice done upon the offenders: and desire that he that penned the letter may never pen more. Farewell."

Herewith I should conclude, but I must give you a

[1] These two particulars were communicated to me under caution of secrecy. I therefore humbly crave your silence thereupon.—*Note of the writer.*

brief account of Sir Robert Cary's proceeding in the business of Killingworth, which is like to succeed better for him, and worse for you, than I expected; for his majesty, upon Sir Robert's motion, hath promised to pay the £2000[1] the prince was to pay; and his highness is content, upon that condition, to join the park and the chase together, and to extinguish the rent; and my lady, unwilling to let go her hold upon so good a thing, hath procured her son, Sir Henry Cary's life, to be put into the patent with Sir Robert's, and therefore not like to depart with the thing by way of sale; though, for the chief command of the game in their absence, I dare, upon Sir Robert's word, be bound to assure it unto you, which is all the service in this particular I shall be able to do you.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

July 14, 1618.

I have received your letter of July 4, the contents of which I shall be able to satisfy with effect, when it shall be a fit time to move it. But that I conceive not to be now, Sir Robert[2] being somewhat impatient at a stop he hath met with in his business, by the escape of one word only, which was not thought of, and therefore omitted in the warrant, and after not allowed of in the lease, as being inserted without the consent of the board, and cannot be helped, though it alter nothing to the intent, till the commissioners shall sit and give allowance, which will not be till Michaelmas.

For news I shall write that which is here every man's discourse, that a commission is granted forth to make search and inquiry into the Exchequer, that if any malversations be there found, they may accordingly be proceeded against. And this is supposed to be done against him chiefly who bears principal sway in the place, who is so hardly beset on all sides, as many make a question whether he shall continue in the exercise of that office till the progress, yea or no.

[1] The prince was to have the £2000 paid out of my Lady Shrewsbury's fine.—*Note by Mr. Lorkin.* Killingworth is now called Kenelworth.

[2] Carey.

There hath lately happened a great quarrel between the Marquis of Hamilton[1] and Sir Robert Deval, some time a creature of his, and whom the common voice condemns to be foully faulty. The marquis instantly besought the king that he might have leave to combat with him, which his majesty would in no sort permit; but hath before him heard the cause, and declared his indignation so far against the said Deval, as had not afterwards the marquis's own earnest mediation to the king and council better prevailed, he had been for ever banished; but the marquis, upon his submission and acknowledgment, not only forgave his private offence, but procured his public pardon.

My Lord Roos is sent for home by letters, and an express messenger from his majesty, his grandfather, and father; and the pardon of his contempt sent him by the same messenger.

The creation holds but in part, for the one-half refused to disburse so much money. Only my Lord Rich and the Lord Cavendish show themselves willing to the payment, and shall receive the addition of honour shortly: when Sir John Digby hopes and makes account to be a viscount likewise.

The king hath borrowed a great sum of money of the customer (I hear not the particulars), and hath assigned them the customs for their payment.

Sir Thomas Bromley is lately arrived here at London: some think very poor, but few know as yet the certainty; but, for his welcome, the Spanish ambassador hath commenced a suit against him in the Admiral Court, where he stands bound to answer it.

Sir Henry Cavendish[2] is contracted, if not married, to Sir Henry Howard's widow,[3] and hath thereby defeated the almost absurd hopes of Mr. Christopher Villiers, who pretended much interest in her affection.

The last Sunday, happened here in London a great tumult against the Spanish ambassador, upon this occasion: a gentleman of his riding through Chancery Lane, and not

[1] James, second marquis. He died March 3, 1635.
[2] K.B., more celebrated as the Marquis of Newcastle of the Civil Wars.
[3] Heiress of William Bassett, of Blore, in the county of Stafford.

so well heeding his way as was fit, rode over a child, and left it in great danger of death; presently offer was made to seize upon him, but he put spurs to his horse, and away. The people followed him after, and as the length of their way increased, so the people multiplied, they say, to the number of four or five thousand. These beset the Spanish ambassador's house, whither the delinquent had betaken himself, demanded the offender, and upon refusal, proceeded to break down the windows, and to threaten a forcible entry. Neither could they be quieted till my lord chief justice came thither himself in person, and carried the party along with him prisoner to his own house, promising the course of justice should pass upon him; wherewith they were appeased.

For any foreign news, I hear little; only from Heidelberg, I understand that the Palatine hath seized upon a strong fort of the Bishop of Spire's, and laid it even with the ground. But upon what quarrel is not written.

From Spain, I hear that the Church of the Monastery of Los Angeles being set on fire (whether casually by any fire the nuns left in a room adjoining where they made biscochi, when they came into the court to vespers, or out of design; for that is sorely suspected), the nuns abandoned their cells and fled into St. Domingo's, hard by; and, in the passage, the cantata, who stood in competition with the famous singer of Constantinople, was stolen away; and though strict search hath been made after her, yet can there be no light given whither or by whom she was conveyed.

It is further certified from thence, how the Conde de Cantilliana, that excellent Toreador, hath stolen away the wife of a Procurador de Corte, Alvaro de Quinones, himself being at the same time in the same chamber with her, but asleep: yet, awaking with the noise, he behaved himself so well as to make them leave much of their blood behind, and prefers no quarrel against them, as choosing rather to watch some opportunity of revenge: as had lately done a principal inhabitant of Madrid, to a kinsman of the Duke of Lerma's, who, having seduced and abused his wife, the husband waiting an occasion, as the duke's

kinsman was going to Valladolid, set upon him, assisted by three or four more, and slew him.

The next week the prince removes to Richmond, and after some four or five days there, begins a little progress by himself to Chertsey, Bagshot, Windsor, and then after meets the king. And, if I follow not along, I shall take a voyage into some other part myself for some little time, which I therefore write, that it may serve for excuse to my future silence, as long as my absence or want of subject at my return shall occasion it.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, July 28, 1618.

I have been lately in the country, and have not leisure to enlarge myself further than to let you understand that my Lord Hay hath resigned up into the king's hands his office of master of the standing wardrobe, under pretence of his majesty's profit, which might haply suffer by the corruption of inferior officers under him, and his want of experience in business of that kind. But it is thought it proceeded from an apprehension of a like proceeding against him, as hath been already used against the lord treasurer that was. The king received it kindly, and in recompense promised him both honour and profit; and hath already begun with the former by creating him Viscount of Doncaster, and Sir Lionel Cranfield[1] hath, by his majesty's free gift, succeeded him in the place.

News arrived yesternight to my Lord Burghley that my Lord Roos is dead, which, whether it be certain or no, I know not; but it hath been the occasion of staying his father's journey into the country, which otherwise this day he intended.

I shall conclude with a correction of my former letter,[2] in one point concerning my Lord Lisle, whom I wrote to be made Earl of Warwick, whereas his title is Leicester, which is all my haste permitteth me.

[1] Afterwards Earl of Middlesex and lord treasurer.
[2] This letter is not extant among the others.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 8, 1618.

Though it be now a week since you went hence,[1] yet I doubt that you are still at the sea-side: for the wind hath been here so contrary, that there is no getting over, unless you might take the resolution of going to Calais, and so on by land, which I wish you had done, seeing the business doth press so hard, and your presence so necessarily required there, as it seems, by the king's often inquiring, as I hear, after your departure.

We are here as you left us; only the two earls, Leicester[2] and Northampton,[3] were created with all the ceremonies and solemnities, on Sunday last, at Salisbury. The other two must receive their new coined honours by patent, which hath been hitherto delayed; for that Clare[4] was thought too honourable a title, being usually bestowed upon none but the king's sons, and those in rank before York or Lancaster. Whereupon Sir Robert Rich hath been forced to make a pressing journey to court, where he has prevailed so far as to procure his father to be created Earl of Warwick. But these dignities cannot defend them from the pens of malicious poets and libellers, who give them new additions and plain terms, blaze them in another sort, as the first[5] to be *vinosos;* the second[6] crazed; the third[7] *cornucopia;* and the fourth,[8] a Lombard or usurer. I have not seen the rhime, nor do not look after it. But by report it is bitter enough.

The Lady Compton is now Countess of Buckingham, and hath got the start of these new States, her patent bearing date the 1st of July. But it doth pose the heralds how her husband should have no place in the preferment, but to continue bare knight. And withal there rises another question, whether her daughters be ladies, and are to take

[1] Sir Dudley had returned to England from Holland on the 30th of the preceding May.

[2] Sir Robert Sydney, Viscount Lisle.

[3] William, second Lord Compton, K.G., and Lord President of the Marches of Wales. He was drowned in the Thames, when bathing, having been surprised by the cholic, in June, 1630.

[4] The title desired by Lord Rich. [5] Earl of Leicester.

[6] Earl of Northampton. [7] Earl of Warwick. [8] Earl of Devonshire.

place as earl's or countess's daughters, which I think to be easily resolved by that maxim in law, that *partus sequitur ventrem.*

Sir Walter Raleigh was at Salisbury, but had no audience either of the king or council, by reason that he is so sick and weak, and withal so broken out all over, that it is verily thought to be a leprosy, or that he hath taken a dram of something to do himself harm.[1] He came to town, they say, yesternight to his old habitation in the Tower, but not to his old lodging, which was taken up a good while since by the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

The Lord Hay is made Viscount Doncaster, and in speech to be master of the Wards, and Sir Lionel Cranfield to succeed him in the wardrobe. There is a rumour likewise that the lord chamberlain[2] is in election to be lord treasurer; the Earl of Montgomery to be lord chamberlain and captain of the band of pensioners, by surrender of the Lord Walden.

Amongst the many late translations of our bishops, Chichester is fallen to Dr. Morton, Bishop of Chester, whose place is supplied by Dr. Bridgeman, with keeping his grant of Wigan *in commendam*, being within the same diocese.

The next week we are to have a great commission sitting at Guildhall, about the tumult and riot committed upon the Spanish ambassador's people and his house, the king being much exasperated against the lord mayor and city, for letting it pass so quietly, and therefore will have it examined and sifted to the full, to which end he hath appointed the Lord Coke for a principal commissioner.

Mrs. Vavasour, old Sir Henry Lee's[3] woman, is like to be called in question for having two husbands now alive. Young Sir Henry Lee, the wild oats of Ireland, hath ob-

[1] The mind of the gallant Raleigh had given way beneath an accumulation of troubles. He had lost his son in a contest with the Spaniards, one of his captains had committed suicide, and the object of his voyage had been defeated by the treachery of the king—proof of which exists in a letter from Buckingham to Secretary Winwood, to be found in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. i., p. 398. But his troubles were drawing to a close; for James was bent on sacrificing him to his desire of uniting his son with the Infanta of Spain.

[2] William Earl of Pembroke.

[3] K.G., who died in 1611, at the age of eighty.

tained the confiscation of her [property,] if he can prove it without touching her life.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 13, 1618.

I wrote this day sennight by Harman, the post, and meant not to write again till I should go out of town, about the middle of this next week, unless Dickson had been despatched, who, upon Mr. Secretary's promise to send a packet for you after you, waits diligently at Whitehall; or else he had come down to you to the seaside, and given account of his journey to Salisbury. But now it is very likely you shall hear of him shortly, for Secretary Naunton and some others of the council are expected here this day.

I was sorry to understand by your letter from Margate that you found no readier passage, for I know how tedious it is to be wind-bound, specially when business doth press. I was likewise a diligent observer of the wind, and saw there was no possibility to get over, unless you took the course to Calais, and so over land.

The commission I wrote of, held on Wednesday at the Guildhall, where there were none but poor snakes indicted for the riot committed at the Spanish ambassador's. Seven were found guilty, and adjudged to six months' imprisonment, and to pay £500 a-piece. The other two were acquitted. There were likewise certain Brownists fined and imprisoned, for following conventicles.

Captain Babbe, a man not unknown to you, was sentenced last week at the sessions to stand in the pillory, for cozenage, and telling of fortunes and other knaveries. The pillory was set up for him in Cheapside, but he came not, whatsoever the matter was, unless it be that such companions many times find more favour than honester men.

Sir Walter Raleigh went to the Tower on Monday, having attempted the night before to make an escape and get over sea. But he was presently bewrayed, or, in a sort, betrayed, by Sir Lewis Stukeley, who had the charge of him, and brought him back by certain boats, that waited for him at

Woolwich. Sir Lewis did nourish him in the humour, with promise to assist and accompany him; but it was a foul *pas de clerc* for an old cozener to be so cozened and overtaken.[1]

This week the Lord Coke, the attorney-general, and solicitor, by order from the king, went to the Lady of Shrewsbury to offer her the oath of allegiance, which she, absolutely refusing it, run, they say, into a *præmunire*, and so in danger, if the king deal rigorously with her, to lose all she hath. Here was a great funeral on Tuesday, for Sir William Craven, where there was above five hundred mourners. The lord chief justice,[2] and all his brethren, go down on Monday toward Bath, to the burial of the Bishop of Winchester.

The Lady Winwood hath lost her elder daughter Betty, who died of a burning fever on Tuesday last, and was brought up the next night to be buried by her father. No doubt, it is a great affliction to the good lady; for this child was her only jewel, and she more fond of it than of all the rest. The new Countess of Buckingham went on Monday to dinner to the lord chancellor's at Gorhambury or Verulam, to see her patent sealed and delivered.

Here is loud speech of ill measure offered by the Hollanders to our people, both in the East Indies and in Greenland. If matters be so foul as they are made, it will be hard to reconcile them; and in the mean time it breeds ill blood.

The court is far off, and either there is nothing, or we hear nothing, from thence worth the relating. As I was closing this letter, I hear that Babbe was on the pillory all this morning in Cheapside, in as sound a shower of rain as we had any this year.

[1] His mind, as we have said, was a little disordered, so that it was easy for such a consummate rascal as Stukeley to deceive. From the expression "old cozener," the feeling of the courtiers towards this distinguished man is sufficiently indicated. The fact is, Raleigh was a living reproach to the effeminate coxcombs who clustered round their effeminate king, and they readily shared in his prejudices against the favourite of his predecessor.

[2] Montagu.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 20, 1618.

I was bold to recommend this gentleman, Mr. Henry Sibthorpe, upon Mr. West's request, who is his uncle, and wishes well to him, and would have been glad he might have been for your service. But seeing you were so well provided that he could not be of use to you in that kind, his suit now is that you would be pleased to see him well placed in some company; and that you would carry a favourable eye toward him, for his sake, and as he shall deserve. He hath a good opinion of him upon my knowledge, and means well towards him; so that whatsoever favour you shall do him cannot be better bestowed than upon so honest and kind-hearted a man as Mr. West.

The lord chancellor came to town on Monday, who, together with other of the council hereabouts, have sat every day since at Whitehall; but I hear nothing yet of Secretary Naunton.

It is generally thought, that Sir Walter Raleigh shall pay this new reckoning upon the old score;[1] the rather for that it is believed, the pitiful plight he is in with boyls and botches was done by art; as likewise a counterfeiting awhile to be distracted, if all be true that is reported from good hands: but yet he hath made a long apology for himself; and his friends excuse him all they may; wherein, though the world be not satisfied, yet Sir Lewis Stukeley is generally decried.

Sir George Calvert is lately gone to the court from the council here, at whose return we shall see what will become of him. His lady should have been committed to Sir Thomas Lowe's; but he excusing himself upon his many children, which, though they be married, live with him altogether in one family, she was permitted to keep her own house, with a strict guard set upon her and her little son, which some interpret to be lest she should convey away the wealth and jewels, which are thought to be more

[1] This means that he was to be condemned for the crime for which he had suffered his previous long imprisonment and confiscation. He had gained his liberty, with the king's consent, obtained by means of a heavy bribe.

than perhaps will be found upon the upshot. Once I have no opinion of any great matter.

The king draws hitherward, and will be at Farnham the next week. We hear he was lately distempered for two or three days by some surfeit of fruit; but found a fair riddance by the benefit of nature every way, which no doubt was better physic than any of his doctors, or Mayerne himself, whom he believes most in, could have given him. He is lately come out of France, where he was not well seen, but ordered to be gone, upon discourse of some practice, as is pretended, with those of the Religion: which yet they profess to believe proceeded from himself, without order or instruction from hence.

While the court was at Bewley, a Scottishman stabbed and killed a servant of Humfrey's, that discovered the *pot aux roses* touching the courses of the Lord and Lady Suffolk. The fellow is to suffer for it, if he be not hanged already at the court gate. Sir John Bingley is, like enough, for aught I hear, to pass well through his business, and so may the Lord of Suffolk,[1] seeing there pass many letters 'twixt the king and him; which some think to be about the parting with Audley End, for the which he is to have £2000 land a-year; and as much more as the grounds or lands about it came to.

We talk still of a new treasurer, and the Lord Coke is in some consideration. But the most general and likely voice goeth with the lord chamberlain,[2] who seems nothing fond of it; unless he might leave his place to his brother Montgomery. But he hath two strong competitors, the Marquis Hamilton, and the Viscount Doncaster, the one for favour, and the other *per ragion di stato*, like to oversway him, if they could agree between themselves. Sir Lionel Cranfield is not yet master of the wardrobe, nor like to be, unless he give a *viaticum* to the Lord Hay, who, they say, stands upon £9000.

Here is much ado about buildings, both in suppressing great numbers that have been built heretofore, and in exacting such as are now in hand to be done, according to a

[1] Accused of corruption in his post of lord treasurer, and many other misdemeanors.

[2] Earl of Pembroke.

proclamation come forth since your going; which makes divers stand at a stay now they are more than half way up. Divers patents or licenses have been lately granted, yet breed much speech; as, a groat upon every chaldron of sea-coal; a certain rate (I know not what) for every ton of shipping, that passes toward the northern coast, for maintenance of lights, as is pretended; for the prohibiting of pedlars, or petty chapmen, unless they be authorised under the great seal; but not so much as Archy,[1] the Dizzard, hath engrossed by the making of tobacco-pipes, to him, his heirs, deputies, or assigns: which, though it seem a small matter, yet they say it concerns a number of poor men.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, August 28, 1618.

It was Tuesday night, by reason of a strong contrary wind, before we arrived at this place; and betwixt this and Rotterdam (where I was met by Sir Horace Vere and much good company) we were overtaken with the most terrible tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain, that any man of us had ever met with, so as it was a common speech amongst us that it must needs prognosticate somewhat; which fell out the day following, our great man, Monsieur Barnevelt, with two of his chief instruments, Hogerbots and Grotius, the one pensioner at Leyden, the other of Rotterdam, being then arrested prisoners in the Prince of Orange's lodgings by order of the States-General, where they remained two days, until the lodgings in the court, where the Amirante of Arragon lay last, were prepared for them. I account it in some regard ill luck to come *à la vieille* of such a feast; at which though there are many make good cheer, (and I may well say the most in this country) yet there being some *mal dîners*, they lay no small blame upon me, and so speed it by public voice, as if I had given fire to this mine by certain intercepted letters, which I should have brought with me out of England. Their apprehension proceeded chiefly of certain difficulties and traverses they sought to cast in the way of the national Synod, after they had

[1] The king's fool.

offered themselves at the Prince of Orange's return from Utrecht to concur with the States-General and his excellency; which they perceiving, and that this business would prove Penelope's web, unless these men were laid holden, not only took the resolution for them, but for one Leydenburgh, the secretary of Utrecht, who had the same authority in that province, as Barnevelt, in Holland, and was there held on the day after they were taken. Vander Mile, who married Barnevelt's daughter, was with me at the instant that his father was taken, and went from me to the council, not knowing any thing of the matter until the news was publicly sent to the council, by the States-General; which may seem very strange, that he, his father, and the rest of that party, who had the chief managing of the affairs, should have so small knowledge or apprehension of what hung over their heads; this course having been almost a year in speech, and it was known to forty in this town the night before it was put in execution.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 5, 1618.

This day, news arrived of my Lord de la War's[1] death, in his voyage to Virginia. This day was fatal to my Lord Clifton,[2] who, at his lodgings in Holborn, stabbed and murdered himself. The last week, the French agent[3] was interdicted the court, for being appeached by a companion of his, already in prison for the same crime, to have projected and offered means of Sir Walter Raleigh's escape; and, though he protested against it, and sought to justify himself by writing, yet served it not his turn; for in the same terms he remains still, and hath (as I hear) written the news thereof to the king his master, petitioning either for a revocation or a reintegration, by his means, into his former condition.

The current runs strong here, that Sir Fulk Greville shall be treasurer, but the grounds of that conjecture are not certain. An assured thing they say it is, that the

[1] Thomas, third lord, captain-general of all the provinces in Virginia.
[2] Gervase. *Camdeni Annales Regni Jacobi*, i. p. 37. [3] Le Clerc.

Marquis of Buckingham hath gotten the survivance of the Admiralty granted him, in a joint patent with the lord admiral that is; and the same hath passed the seals already. Sir Robert Cary hath now perfected his suit concerning Killingworth, and intends a new voyage thither soon after Allhallowtide. I have renewed my former motions concerning you, and he promises the accomplishment.

The treaty with Spain, about the match that is pretended, they say, is likely to proceed. Sir John Digby is to be employed anew in an embassy to that purpose, and is to stay there till he see a final issue; that either the infanta be to be brought over, or the business utterly quashed. Presently after Christmas he undertakes the voyage, but the king hath not declared him as yet. It is kept as a great secret in the interim, and so imparted unto me, who am offered the condition of the chaplain, if I should think fit to accept it. I shall take time to consider, and humbly entreat you to favour me with your advice. But whatsoever I have communicated touching this embassy, I beseech you bury it in your own bosom till his majesty's declaration open a vent.

If you have not yet seen Sir Walter Raleigh's *Apology*, if you please to send me word, I will procure you a copy.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, October 20, 1618.

What I wrote concerning Sir Fulk Greville, the last week, holds current still; there is some alteration about his successor; for, instead of Sir Allen Apsley, they now nominate Sir Henry Spiller to be the only man. I formerly signified how his majesty, upon good grounds, had forbidden the French agent the court. To pay us back in the same coin (though not upon so just a cause), the French king hath dismissed, likewise, Mr. Becher, and means, as we hear, to second that disgust by another of more importance, the cashiering of the Scots guard.

There is, I hear, a new commission granted; first, to

inquire what jewels of the crown have been embezzled; whereby the Earl of Suffolk is like to be called to a further account. There is heating at the Lord Knollys's also; but he resolves stoutly to stand upon his own just position, and hath directly told the marquis as much; with putting him in mind, further, that these precedents may one day prove leading cases to himself.

Sir Dudley Digges[1] is returned, without performing aught. He alleges, that at his arrival, the Russians had received a great overthrow by the Polac; the country much infested by freebooters, &c., and no convoy sent to conduct him; so that the journey being altogether useless for himself, and the money he carried being like rather to become a prey to the enemy, than serve for the relief of him for whom it was sent, he thought best to come back the same way he went, and bring the money with him. There is newly arrived here a bassa, in quality of ambassador from the Grand Signor; but what his errand is, is yet rather guessed at than known.

Upon Friday next, Sir Thomas Lake is like to come to hearing; and the common voice hath already given a very heavy sentence against him.

I have herewith sent you a copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's *Apology*, which you may please to peruse at your own commodity, and afterwards return it hither to me, because it is another man's, and I shall at better leisure write out a fair one for you.

Isaac Wake, Esq., to Secretary Naunton.[2]

Turin, October 24, 1618.

To prove the paradox (that there had been of late two councils in France, opposite to each other in their designs), he (the Duke of Savoy) did allege unto me the instance of Monsieur de Leon, who had attended, as his highness saith, most diligently during the time of his embassage at

[1] He had been sent on an embassy to Russia.

[2] Extracts of Letters of Isaac Wake, ambassador from King James the First to the Duke of Savoy, in three volumes, folio, in his own handwriting; being his copy-book of them, from December 5, 1614, to May, 15-25, 1620, in the possession of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Weymouth.

Venice, where he doth yet reside, to do all manner of disservice unto the State of Venice, and, by consequence, unto the public: and of Monsieur Gueffier, whose behaviour hath been so strange among the Grissons, that he hath been forced to save himself by flight, when he did see that his designs were discovered, which tend to the utter ruin of many poor people.

Isaac Wake, Esq., to Secretary Naunton.

Turin, June 15-25, 1619.

The Spaniards[1] * * * * Prince * * * is to dispossess the Duke of Ossuna of that government [of Naples]. They would make the world believe that the Duke of Ossuna did aspire to make himself king of Naples.

Isaac Wake, Esq., to Secretary Lake.

Turin, June 15-25, 1618.

Perhaps all the preparations [of Don Pedro de Toledo, governor of Milan], are made against the Venetians, towards whom the Spaniards do daily discover more and more an ill talent. And the sudden retreat of the Marquis of Bedmar from Venice to Milan doth much increase this suspicion, considering that his long residence in that State, where he hath been ambassador the space of ten years, hath given him the means to discover much of the weakness; and, of all the ministers of Spain that are in Italy, there is none worse affected unto the Venetian State than he.

Isaac Wake, Esq., to Sir Thomas Lake.

Turin, August 10-20, 1618.

The Venetian resident at Turin hath, likewise, had a very favourable audience of the Duke of Feria, the new governor of Milan, who hath promised to keep good quarter with that State, and to cherish their love and friendship, with the best offices that may lie in his power. And the

[1] Manuscript torn.

better to assure the Venetians of his sincerity, he hath estranged himself wholly from Don Alonzo della Cueva, Marquis of Bedmar, who hath practised, together with Don Pedro, all the treason lately discovered against that State.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 31, 1618.

I remember, that in my last letter, I said that Sir Walter Raleigh was not secure. But now he is past all peradventure; for, upon Thursday morning,[1] he was beheaded, in the old Palace at Westminster, 'twixt the Parliament House and the church. On Wednesday, he was brought from the Tower to the King's Bench bar, as they say, the manner is when a man lives above a year and a day after he is condemned; and there demanded what he could say for himself, why the sentence pronounced against him at Winchester should not be put in execution. The sum of his answer was, that the king had employed him in his service, and given him a commission, wherein he styled him "*his loyal subject;*" and withal given him *potestatem vitæ et mortis;* which did amount to a pardon. For in all reason he must be master of his own life, that hath power over other men's. The judges replied, that there is no pardon for treason by implication. Wherefore, he must find a better plea, or undergo the sentence. Thus he spoke of his trial at Winchester, and avowed that all, or the far greater part of those that were present, did acquit him in their consciences; and that the king's gracious forbearing him so long, and, but for this late accident, longer would have done, even to a hundred years, if nature could have drawn out his life so long, did show that his majesty approved his innocence. But, in conclusion, he was willed to prepare himself, and so was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and conveyed to the Gatehouse, where he spent the rest of that day in writing letters to the king, and others, and in prayer with the Dean of Westminster,[2] who came the next morning at five

[1] October 29, 1618. [2] Dr. Tolson.

o'clock, and ministered to him the communion; and, when he had broken his fast, about eight o'clock, came to the scaffold, where he found the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northampton, the Lord of Doncaster, and divers others. He made a speech of more than half an hour, wherein he cleared himself of having any intelligence with France, which had been objected to him, more than to save his life, and hide himself from the king's indignation. Then, that he never said any ill intent words towards his majesty, not so much as in thought. That he had no other pretence, nor end in his last voyage, than the enriching of the king, the realm, himself, and his followers. That he never had any undutiful speech concerning his majesty with the runagate French physician, nor ever offered to Sir Lewis Stukely £10,000 to go with him into France, nor told him that the Lord Arran had given him advice to be gone; and that he and the Lord of Doncaster would maintain him in France, of which points he had been accused by them. And, though he protested not only to forgive them, but to pray God to forgive them, yet he thought fit to give men warning of such persons. To all this, and much more, he took God, so often, and so solemnly to witness, that he was believed of all that heard him.

He spake somewhat of the death of the Earl of Essex,[1] and how sorry he was for him; for though he was of a contrary faction, yet he foresaw that those who esteemed him then in that respect, yet would cast him off, as they did afterwards. He confessed himself the greatest sinner that he knew; and no marvel, as having been a soldier, a seaman, and a courtier. He excused the disfiguring of himself, by the example of David, who feigned himself mad, to avoid danger, and never heard it imputed to him for a sin. In conclusion, he spake and behaved himself so, without any show of fear or affectation, that he moved much commiseration; and all that saw him confessed that his end was, as far as man can discern, every way perfect.

It will not be amiss to set down some few passages, of divers that I have heard. The morning that he went to

[1] He was beheaded by Queen Elizabeth.

execution, there was a cup of excellent sack brought him, and, being asked how he liked it, "As the fellow," said he, "that, drinking of St. Giles's bowl, as he went to Tyburn, said, that was good drink if a man might tarry by it." As he went from Westminster Hall to the Gate-house, he spied Sir Hugh Beeston in the throng, and, calling to him, prayed he would see him die to-morrow. Sir Hugh, to make sure work, got a letter from Secretary Lake to the sheriffs, to see him placed conveniently; and meeting them, as they came near to the scaffold, delivered his letter, but the latter, by mishap, had left his spectacles at home, and put the letter in his pocket. In the mean time, Sir Hugh being thrust by, Sir Walter bade him farewell, and said, "I know not what shift you will make, but I am sure to have a place." When the hangman asked his forgiveness, he desired to see the axe; and, feeling the edge, he said, that was a sharp medicine, to cure him of all his diseases and miseries. When he was laid down, some found fault that his face was westward, and would have him turned. Whereupon, rising, he said, "It was no great matter which way a man's head stood, so his heart lay right." He had given order to the executioner, that, after some short meditation, when he stretched forth his hands, he should despatch him; after once or twice putting forth his hands, the fellow, out of timorousness (or what other cause), forbearing, he was fain to bid him strike, and so, at two blows, he took off his head, though he stirred not a whit after the first. The people were much affected at the sight, insomuch that one was heard to say, that we had not such another head to cut off.[1] Another wished the head and brains to be upon S. N.'s[2] shoulders.

There was great means made for his life; and I hear the queen wrote very earnestly to the king, as he tendered her health, to spare him, for that she had received great good by his receipts.[3] I hear not so much of her recovery of late, as when I wrote last, but rather that she

[1] Most true. [2] Secretary Naunton.

[3] Anne of Denmark entertained a high opinion of Raleigh, and would have saved him, had not James been so recklessly determined to destroy him, to propitiate the Spaniards.

goes *peggiorando*, insomuch that it is doubted whether the king will come hither to-day from Theobalds, or go direct to Hampton Court, where she lies.

The Spanish Dominican, lately come hither, is said, likewise, to have laboured for Sir Walter Raleigh, as finding his death would much alienate the minds of our people, as if he were sacrificed to the malice of the Spaniards. But it is verily thought, some unseemly speeches fathered upon him, whether truly or falsely, by those two fellows,[1] were the principal motives of his ruin. It was said, we should have some declaration set out, touching the causes of his execution at this time; but whether his protestation and manner of dying may alter the case, God knows, for he died very religiously, and every way like a Christian, insomuch that the Dean of Westminster (they say) commends him exceedingly, and says he was as ready and able to give as take instruction. His execution was the more remarkable, for that it fell out the day of the lord mayor's triumph, though it began with a tragedy; and, being a reasonable fair morning, grew very foul all the day after.

Monsieur Clerc, the French agent, went away this day sennight; and I heard yesterday that Mr. Beecher and the Lord Wemyss were come out of France. I am sorry we should have nobody there to see how matters pass, for we are possessed here that the States' fight runs very strongly that way.

On Wednesday, Sir Humphrey Tufton[2] was censured in the Star Chamber, for bastinadoing Christopher Nevil,[3] the Lord of Abergavenny's son, in a jealous humour that he made love to his wife, whom he caused to write him a letter, and so drew him into the trap. His whole fine, for himself and his men, one way and other, comes to almost £7000. Besides, he is to make some submission in that court, and some satisfaction to Nevil, as the earl marshal shall award. His two men are to stand in the pillory, and to be whipt. Mr. Nevil is to have £1000 of this fine for his costs.

[1] Manourie and Stukeley.
[2] Younger brother of Sir Nicholas Baron Tufton, first Earl of Thanet.
[3] Second son of Edward, sixth Baron Abergavenny.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, November 3, 1618.

My last letter[1] intimated a warrant that was formed for Sir Walter Raleigh's despatch. These will relate to you his end.

Upon Wednesday, therefore, he was brought to Westminster, to receive sentence anew from the lord chief justice, to comply with certain formalities, I hear, in law, for that those who pronounced it were dead. Being presented at the bar, he demanded for what offence he was proceeded against? Answer was made, it was his majesty's pleasure to take his life for the first; and that the cause of his coming again to the bar now was, to declare the former condemnation to stand still in force. He offered to speak somewhat for himself, but it was not permitted. The attorney[2] told him that he had lived like a star, and like a star must he fall, when it troubled the firmament. Then he was delivered into the sheriff's charge, and by him carried from thence to the Gatehouse; and the day following (which was, by all good tokens, the lord mayor's day), in the Old Palace Yard, executed. His warning was short; for he had no word to prepare himself for death, till that very morning he was convented before the judge. He sued for four or five days longer, under pretence of having somewhat to communicate with his majesty, in writing, for his behoof and service, which in so short a time could not be performed; and something, I hear, he hath written to the king to that purpose. Yet it was conceived as a device to gain time, that his friends might the more effectually intercede for his pardon, so that suit would not be granted. Whereupon he prepared himself for death. The Dean of Westminster visited him, and, after some conference between them two, he, at his hands, received the sacrament; and, the night before his execution, made his own Epicedium, or funeral song, which I have here sent you.

He had the favour to die a gentleman's death, and to be beheaded. His end was, by the general report of all

[1] This letter is not to be found.

[2] Sir Henry Yelverton.

that were present, very Christian-like; and so full of resolution, as moved all men to pity and wonder. In going from the prison to the scaffold, amongst others that thronged about to see him, one old man, that was bald, pressed very forward, insomuch as Sir Walter Raleigh took notice of him, and asked him whether he would have aught of him. To whom the old man answered: "Nothing but to see him, and to pray to God to have mercy upon his soul." "I thank thee, good friend," replied Sir Walter; "and I am sorry I have no better thing to return thee for thy good will: but take this night-cap" (which was a very rich one, that he wore, for he had had two fits of a fever), "for thou hast more need of it now than I."

Being come to the scaffold, he saw the lords seated in a place that was provided for them, somewhat far off, and, fearing lest his voice should not well reach them, desired them that they would approach, because what he had then to say, he wished the whole world should take notice of. And so they did, and heard a most grave, Christian, and elegant discourse, as they commonly qualify it. In it he laboured to clear himself from three main aspersions. The first, of atheism; which he did by a worthy profession of his faith, and profession of his hope to be saved thereby. The second was concerning my Lord of Essex's death, whom he was reported to have insulted upon at his death, taking tobacco in a bravery before his face: and to have procured and practised his ruin. Against both which he solemnly protested; adding further, that he acknowledged himself to be, indeed, of a contrary faction, because my Lord of Essex had refused him, whom he first sought; but that he was so far from triumphing at his death, as he never was more affected with grief for any man's, and expressed the same with tears, to his prejudice, in the opinion and friendship, as it proved afterwards, of the adverse party. The third was concerning those last occasions wherein he stood charged with a disloyal intention in the voyage he undertook, and with further accusations since his return. The former seemed grounded upon a report that went, of great sums of money which he secretly transported with him to the value of £10,000, and the

extraordinary provision of artillery he carried with him; both which he satisfied, by showing the falsehood of the first (all his own store not exceeding the sum of one hundred and fifty pieces, whereof he sent back part to his wife), and the necessity of the second, in regard of the Spaniard, upon whose friendship he had no occasion to presume.

Touching the other accusations, they all respected Sir Lewis Stukeley as their author (whom he professed to forgive, by the way, with all his heart, but yet thought fit to *désagencer* the world, both the better to justify himself, and to teach every man how to trust him). And, whereas, he first accused him to have practised with the French agent about his escape, he protested he never saw him but once, in the gallery at Whitehall, before he undertook his voyage; neither ever had aught to do with him since. Secondly, whereas, Stukeley charged him to have offered him £10,000 if he would consent to his escape; he likewise therein proclaimed him false, sith his largest promises in that kind never exceeded the payment of Stukeley's debts, which he confessed to have undertaken for him. Thirdly, whereas the said Stukely accused him to have laid to Sir Edward Parry's charge, where he was entertained in his coming up to London, the poisoning of him; he took his death upon it that it was most calumnious. He used, indeed, art to counterfeit a poisoning upon himself,[1] which he thought was warranted by David's example, who feigned himself, in a case of like danger, mad; but that he had ever fathered it upon him, who had ever been his noble and worthy friend, he utterly disavowed it under a solemn execution. Lastly, whereas his accuser testified against him, that he had, for his encouragement to give way to his escape, assured him that my Lord of Doncaster and Lord Arran were privy to the design, and favourers of it, he assured the contrary under a deep oath; adding that he knew how fearful and dangerous a thing it was to call God to witness to a lie at any time, much

[1] This is the only act to which Raleigh's admirers cannot readily reconcile themselves; but we think it shows most thoroughly a disordered mind, and on that account is excusable.

more at the hour of a man's death, but he had herein satisfied the obligation of a good conscience.

This done, he embraced all the lords, and other of his friends there present, with such courtly compliments of discourse, as if he had met them at some feast. They then cleared the scaffold; which being done, he takes up the axe and feels the edge, and finding it sharp for the purpose, "This is that," saith he, "that will cure all sorrows;" and so kissing it, laid it down again. After that he went to three several corners of the scaffold, and, kneeling down, desired all the people to pray for him, and conceived a long prayer for himself. Then he began to fit himself for the block, without permitting any help, and first laid himself down, to try how the block fitted him. After rising up, the executioner knelt down, and desired him to forgive him; which, with an embrace, he protested he did, but entreated him not to strike till he gave a token, by lifting up his hand; "and then fear not," said he, "but strike home." So he laid himself down to receive the stroke, and the hangman directed him to lay his face towards the east. "No matter how the head lie," answered he, "so the heart be right." After he had lain a little while upon the block, conceiving some prayers to himself, he gave the watchword, and the executioner, it seems, not minding it, he called aloud unto him, asking him why he did not strike. "Strike man!" said he, and so in two blows was delivered from his pain.

In all the time he was upon the scaffold, nor before, there appeared not the least alteration in him, either in his voice or countenance, but he seemed as free from all manner of apprehension, as if he had been come thither rather to be a spectator than a sufferer. Nay, the beholders seemed much more sensible than did he; so that he hath purchased here, in the opinion of men, such honour and reputation, as, it is thought, his greatest enemies are they that are most sorrowful for his death, which they see is like to turn so much to his advantage.

Stukeley, notwithstanding, hath been at court since, offering to his majesty, by way of his own justification, to

take the sacrament upon it, that what he laid to Sir Walter Raleigh's charge was true; and to produce two other witnesses, free from all exception, that would do the like. "Why, then," replied his majesty, "the more malicious he to utter those speeches at his death."[1] But Sir Thomas Badger, who stood by and heard it, "Let the king," said he, "take off Stukeley's head, as he hath done the other's, and let him at his death take the sacrament, and his oath upon it, and I'll believe it; but otherwise I shall credit Sir Walter Raleigh's bare affirmative before a thousand of his oaths." And it is strange to see how every man at court declines that Stukeley's company, as treacherous.

Thus I have related at large the discourse at court; whereunto I shall briefly add, for farther news, that the prince, a little before they came from Royston, resigned up his pretensions to the Admiralty (whereof he had received a grant from the king long since) to the Marquis of Buckingham.

That Sir Thomas Lake's day of hearing is prolonged further; that the queen continues still very much indisposed; that Mr. Martin,[2] the new recorder, is already dead of the smallpox, and Shute[3] like to succeed him in his place; that a new Venetian leiger[4] is here arrived, not above twenty-three or twenty-four years old; which the king, discoursing of it to my Lord Arundel and Sir John Digby, seemed to censure as a weakness in any state to send a leiger ambassador so young; and that from such a one nothing could be expected but shame unto the nation; but this you will please to keep unto yourself. When you have read this side,[5] I should esteem it a favour if you burn it.

[1] A world of ill feeling seems to lie concealed under this ready acceptance of the assurances of a fellow so contemptible as Stukeley, against the dying asseverations of so gallant a man as Raleigh.

[2] Richard Martin, an eminent scholar and poet. He died about a month after.

[3] Sir Robert Shute, afterwards lord chief justice of the King's Bench, from which he was removed for bribery.

[4] Donato. [5] From the words "sacrament upon it, that," &c.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 7, 1618.

This week I received yours of the 29th of October, together with the printed papers, which I understood no more than children do that look upon the babies, because they be all Dutch; yet I have seen one of them before with a French coat, or copy. For some part of amends, I return you two papers in exchange; the one a letter from Sir Walter Raleigh to the king, before he came to Salisbury; and withal half a dozen verses he made the night before his death,[1] to take his farewell of poetry, wherein he had been a piddler even from his youth. The other is a remembrance left with his lady, written likewise that night, to acquaint the world withal, if perhaps he should not have been suffered to speak at his death, as he was cut off from speaking somewhat he would have said at the King's Bench; and they had no thanks that suffered him to talk so long on the scaffold; but the fault was laid on the sheriffs, and there it rests. His lady had been to visit him that night, and told him she had obtained the disposing of his body. To which he answered, smiling, "It is well, Besse, that thou mayest dispose of that dead, that hadst not always the disposing of it when it was alive;" and so dismissed her anon, after midnight, when he settled himself to sleep for three or four hours. His body and head were buried together in St. Margaret's Church, at Westminster.

Dick Martin, the recorder, enjoyed his dignity but awhile, for he died on Sunday morning: and great suit and labour there hath been for the place. The king wrote his letters for one Shute. The lord chancellor and the Lord of Buckingham recommended him likewise with their particular letters; but the aldermen took great exception to him—as want of years, gravity, learning in the law—and that he had been divers times outlawed upon record, and been bound to the good behaviour, so that he was altogether insufficient for such an office. All which notwithstanding, the lord chancellor sent for some of them,

[1] Printed in his miscellaneous works.

and recommended they should not elect any other till they had spoken with the king. Whereupon they sent five or six of their gravest aldermen to beseech his majesty that they might enjoy their privileges, and, according to their charter, have the free choice of their officers; yet they presented four names—Mr. Walter, Thomas Crew, Jones, their common sergeant, and Mr. Whitelocke, that his majesty might nominate which of these he thought fit. The king gave them gracious hearing, and told them he loved them, and knew they loved him, wherefore he would noways infringe their liberties, but rather, by all means, maintain and increase them, and so left them to their own election; yet withal asked them, how they could like of one Heath?[1] Whereto they said nothing for the present; but it is like he shall carry it, the rather for that he (as well as Shute) belongs to the Lord of Buckingham, and they both together execute an office under the marquis, that was some time the Lord Roper's, out of which they have each of them £600 a-year apiece, which will be extingnished if either of the twain shall obtain the place. I am sorry that Shute was brought upon the stage, because I have some acquaintance with him, and that he is brother to Sir Christopher Hatton's mother.

The king came hither this day sennight, and the next day gave audience to the Venetian ambassador, who went through the town accompanied with thirty coaches, and puts on all the pomp and show he can to uphold their declining reputation. He had audience again the next day; and on Tuesday the Turkish Chians went to the court, but how he carried himself, or what his errand is, I know not, but we say you are likely to have him shortly in Holland. On Wednesday, the king went to visit the queen at Hampton Court, but came back at night; and the next day, being the 5th of November, the Bishop of Winchester[2] made an excellent sermon at court, upon the 31st verse of the 9th chapter of Esdras.

The Countess of Buckingham appears not here this term, whatsoever the matter is, but is taking a house not

[1] Subsequently Sir Robert Heath, lord chief justice of the King's Bench.
[2] Dr. Andrews.

far from St. Albans, to be as near the court and lord chancellor as she can. Her example, they say, hath drawn on the Lady Finch[1] to become a countess, if the bargain go on 'twixt her and the Lord of Doncaster for Copt Hall, and all the land about it, in Essex. She and her son Theophilus are reconciled, and she makes profession that henceforward she will be a good and kind mother unto him. The Lord of Doncaster makes provision to have his lady lie-in at Essex House, on which, and the garden, he hath already bestowed more cost than hath been done this many a-day.

On Wednesday last, Sir Richard Waynman married the stale widow in St. Bartholomews, that brags she had the refusal of a white staff. I thought his friends had carried it more close: but whether the matter were moved to herself, or that she heard of it some other way, it seems it hath taken vent, and is come abroad. The best is, he takes nothing to heart, but gives himself *buon tempo*; and in a company of two councillors more, was seen at an ordinary play at Blackfriars, since this term began. The widow made her capitulations with Sir R. Waynman, to live in London all the winter; not to be troubled with his children; to reserve £700 a-year for her own maintenance; leaving him £800 a-year to dispose of, besides £2000 ready money, and other implements, that she brings with her.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, November 14, 1618.

It was in this town that I received your letter, touching the death of my Lord of Essex, which comes to my memory upon the receipt of one I have now from you, concerning Sir Walter Raleigh, and proves a subject of much contemplation, as they were of several factions and fashions, to balance their lives and their ends: and, if it be true, *finis coronat opus*, this latter hath gotten the honour; for it seems he knew better how to die than to

[1] Elizabeth, widow of Sir Boyle Finch, afterwards created Viscountess Finch, and Countess of Winchelsea.

live, and his happiest hours were those of his arraignment and execution, which cannot be said of the other, save only that they both died religiously.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 14, 1618.

After some consultation, we have, at last, a new recorder, Mr. Heath, a man generally approved and well spoken of. The king's recommendation stood him in stead; for, though they were left to a free election, yet it was told them they must choose none whom the king should refuse, as he did in particular except against Mr. Whitelocke by name. The greatest difficulty was how to content Sir Lionel Cranfield for £1500 he laid down for Dick Martin, who, enjoying the place, it seemed reasonable he should be reimbursed by his successor. But this man disclaims all such contracts; wherefore, he must find some other way to be restored.

On Sunday, the new sheriffs were pricked, which are not so absolutely set down after the old wont, but that they are still subject to alteration, as they can make means. But the sheriff of Cambridgeshire must of necessity be changed, seeing he that is named died about a year agone.

It was generally given out, on Tuesday, that the Lord of Wallingford[1] was called to the council-table, to give account of the administration of the Court of Wards. But, for aught I can learn, he was questioned by the king himself. How he answered, I know not; but he continues the place still; yet it is verily thought he shall be removed, and divers are named to succeed: as, first, Secretary Naunton, Mr. Compton; and but now the voice was wholly with the Earl of Arundel.

On Tuesday, the king went to Theobalds, and so tomorrow to Royston. That day, one Robinson, that had some time been a clerk in an office, was arraigned at the King's Bench, and condemned, for counterfeiting the

[1] Sir William Knollys, afterwards Earl of Banbury.

great seal, and, under the colour of letters patent, exacting sums of money of alehouse-keepers, and fellows that let out money at use in the country. For which, and other such abuses, he was yesterday hanged, drawn, and quartered, about Charing Cross. Another course of his, they say, was, by virtue of this commission, to take up rich yeomen's daughters, or drive them to compound, to serve his majesty for breeders in Virginia.

The business in the Star Chamber, 'twixt the Countess of Exeter and Secretary Lake, will not be ended this term. The king meant to have heard it in person; but the multitude of witnesses, examinations, exemplifications, and such other stuff, is so exorbitant, that they cannot be reduced into any good order without long time; for they say that they exceed the number of 9000 sheets of paper; and the very charge of writings, besides counsel, hath stood the Earl of Exeter already in £500, and the other side cannot pass with less.

On Thursday here was a fast at the Italian church, for the good success of your Synod, and the prosperity of the reformed churches. The Archbishop of Spalato preached there, they say, very well; but he hath lost somewhat in the opinion of the world, by intruding himself into a parsonage that was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of Windsor, wherein Dr. Chalmer, Dr. White, and another, withstood him mainly, as a matter of scandal and ill example in him. But he prevailed, by the negligence or connivance of the rest of the prebends, whereof the major part stood neutral, and would give no voice; which he interpreted to his own advantage.

For all this hard world, the Countess of Bedford hath lately got a suit; but I know not what it is. The Marquis of Hamilton and she are in hand to make up a match for his son and heir with her niece, daughter to her sister, the Lady Chichester, from whom she inherits £1500 a-year land, and may be a greater heir by her aunt, if her ladyship could be persuaded to hold her hands.

Mrs. West, the Lord Delawar's daughter, one of our prime and principal beauties, is seized on by the smallpox,

which, if they deal not mercifully with her, she is quite undone; seeing her good face is the best part of her portion.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

November 24, 1618.

As I signified before, I renewed my suit to Sir Robert Cary lately, concerning you, and received such good assurances of his friendly intention on your behalf, as I persuade myself there is no cause of fear or doubt. Yet shall I refresh his memory at his return from Newmarket, and labour further to procure it underhand, if you think fit; but, in my poor judgment, it would be better to forbear to press him to that, till he came down into these parts, which will be before spring; and then, I rest confident you shall receive full satisfaction and contentment.

News the present affords not any, more than that the queen, God be thanked, is well upon recovery. The French business is reasonably well calmed and pacified; and both agents like to return to their former employment.

Sir John Digby's patent[1] is already signed by the king, and this day is to pass the broad seal of England.

There is a design in hand of disposing the waste ground that lies in Lincoln's Inn unto fair walks, and a collection of money is made to that purpose. The Lords Arundel and Dorset have given either £100; my lord chancellor, and Sir Fulk Greville, £50: Sir Thomas Edmondes, and Sir Harry Cary, comptroller of his majesty's horse, either of them £20; and, they say, gentleman in the county shall be solicited, likewise, to contribute their benevolence, which is the reason I have been so particular in setting down other men's proportion.

A good friend of mine propounded to me, within these few days, a condition of going over to Virginia, where the Virginia company means to erect a college, and undertakes to procure me good assurance of £200 a-year and better; and, if I should find there any ground of dislike, liberty

[1] For creating him Baron Digby of Sherbourn.

to return at pleasure. I assure you, I find preferment coming on so slowly here at home, as makes me much incline to accept it. I will do nothing rashly: your allowance or disallowance of the motion may sway me either way, to embrace it, or refuse it. But I humbly pray your secrecy.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

December 1, 1618.

News this present affords not any, more than what these printed papers will convey unto you, unless this may pass under that title, that my Lord Digby is now actually created; and the States' commissioners are here arrived, in number eight; three men of remark, two civil lawyers, and three others of inferior note, merchants; who are to treat with our East India Company, to see whether they can end all former differences, by bringing them to this issue, that from henceforth they join their stocks into one bank, and treat out that trade and traffic together.

Concerning the blazing star, his majesty, they say, swears it is nothing else but Venus with a firebrand in her —.[1] Mr. Briggs conceives it to be a perfect comet, and therefore above the moon (so mathematicians have demonstrated Aristotle's tenet in this point to be false), and thinks the comet to be a hundred thousand miles in length — I say, thinks, because, as yet, his observation hath found no ground for geometrical demonstration.

I should be glad to know to what issue the motion I made, concerning Mrs. Frances Ferrars, is come. I find such noble usage here, as makes me study how I might be an instrument of any content unto them, which I promise myself I should be, if that match, with fitting conditions of portion, might be handsomely compassed. Sir Robert will estate £1500 a-year upon his son, and depart with £800 a-year in present for maintenance, if things be settled to his desire. I humbly beseech you favour it with your

[1] The word omitted, if proper for a king to utter and a clergyman to repeat— of which we cannot but entertain doubts — is certainly too objectionable to be printed.

best furtherance, if you think it possible to bring it to any good effect.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 4, 1618.

After I had written yesterday by Dieston, your sister sent to desire me to see this letter enclosed conveyed to my lady, and withal told me a long story touching the contents, wherein I hope you are better instructed from Mr. Barnard's own hands than I can be at theirs. But two special points they insisted upon, that you should in no wise be known that you deal for Mr. Barnard; but, if you can draw the matter to composition, to seize upon the money that shall come to your hands for his use; or, if you cannot compound, then, if you know where any goods of theirs be in those parts, to make use of the statute your nephew Dudley brought, and lay hands on them in his behalf. How these matters may be done, I know not; but I assure myself and them there can be no want of care in you to succour and assist so good and ancient a friend in his distress by all lawful and possible means. But I cannot marvel enough how a man of his judgment and experience could be brought to adventure the best part of his estate, or rather, in a manner, his main stock, in so unsound a bottom. But, seeing things past cannot be recalled, it belongs to every good subject to set to their helping hand to help him out of these briars; wherein from me *nil nisi vota supersunt*, and to wish you good success in this business, and all other your honourable courses.

I forgot, in my last, that Sir Lewis Stukeley's pamphlet was penned by Dr. Sharpe.[1] He is now most commonly called and known by the name of Sir Judas Stukeley.

Sir Dudley Carleton[2] *to John Chamberlain, Esq.*

Hague, December 4, 1618.

They (the Armenians at the Synod of Dort) are decried for their impertinent boldness and impudence by all men,

[1] Lionel Sharpe, D.D., formerly chaplain to Henry Prince of Wales.

[2] Sir Dudley Carleton's letters to Mr. Chamberlain are very imperfect and fragmentary. The reader should refer to the volume of his Correspondence at this period, privately printed by Lord Royston.

both assessors and auditors, as well strangers as those of this country, and are thought to be animated from hence, (the Hague) where the French ambassador, their haranguer for Barnevelt, spoke at large in their favour, against the change of magistrates.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

December 15, 1618.

The last week, indisposition of health suffered me not to write, and this week I shall write little, because the present affords no matter to write of. Only the commissioners for the States went last Thursday towards Newmarket, there to receive audience of the king; but, as for any particular, either concerning their reception or embassy, there is not yet any news stirring. The Lady Elizabeth is brought to bed of a daughter.

Sir Henry Wotton, some say, shall be called home this spring, and perhaps succeed Sir Henry Cary in the comptrollership of the king's house, who is like to make way for him, by his remove to the mastership of the Wards, which is designed to him, though my Lord of Wallingford resumes again his wonted courage of standing upon his own justification, which yet will tend but to his greater fall.

Touching the motion of Mrs. Frances Ferrars, I cannot now write anything, by reason of my lady's absence, who attends the queen at Hampton Court; but I cannot conceive those conditions of dowry, which you specify, to be of any such attractive power to draw them greatly to listen after it. I imparted the motion with Sir Thomas Grantham and my lady, who stand very well affected to it, and persuade themselves that they, joining their forces with yours, shall be able to draw on Sir John to make up the portion £3000, which haply would be here accepted, especially if it might be accompanied with one other advantage, which Sir Thomas assures me his brother Ferrars heretofore intended, of estating Tamworth Castle, and the lands thereto belonging, to the value of little less than a £1000 a-year, upon his daughter, Mrs. Frances, for default of

issue in his son. For, howsoever that be a hazard, yet there is a possibility in it, and therefore of some valuable consideration. But your wisdom can judge further into these things. If it might be handsomely compassed, I wish it from my heart, both in regard of the content which I hope this family would receive thereby, as the advantage which I therein foresee unto yourself, besides mine own interest in seeing those families joined together in alliance, between whom my duty rests divided. But man purposeth and God disposeth.

I have herewith sent you a copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's apology.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, December 16, 1618.

Our prisoners have likewise respite for this holy time; but one of them, called Hogerbets, is either mad, in good earnest, or so counterfeits himself to be; for he talks to his children, and disposeth of all his domestic affairs, as if he had his family about him, whereas one man is all he hath.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

December 18, 1618.

The States' commissioners have had no bad reception of the king. They pretend two things, a justification of themselves in their proceedings with our merchants for the time past, and the treating about some fit expedient of trading quietly together for the time to come. His majesty hath remitted them over to his council, who are to hear and relate the particulars. In the mean time, a round course is like to be taken with all the Dutch merchants, who, to the number, they say, at the least of one hundred, are to be brought this next term into the Star Chamber, and there censured for transporting great sums of gold without licence; wherein to proceed more exactly against them, besides other proofs, they say every one of them shall be put to their corporal oath, which doth so terribly alarm them, as, I hear, they offer to buy their peace with £100,000, if so be it might be

accepted. Ten of these merchants are granted to Sir Thomas Vavasour and Sir ..... Fielding for a suit; this man prevailing through favour, and the other pretending deserts for the good service he did his majesty for discovering the abuses of the officers of his majesty's house.

There hath lately run up and down an infamous libel, which touches, as they say, most of our great ones; and two gentlemen are committed about it, one Ashfield and another Matthews, either as authors or divulgers.

The last week, the bailiffs of Holborn, following a gentleman with an arrest, the gentleman took sanctuary at St. James's, whither they pursued him. The prince's servants undertook the protection of the *retraite*, and well and thriftily canvassed the catchpoles for their insolency in presuming so far upon his highness's liberties. Since this, Sir John Vaughan, comptroller of the prince's house, passing through Holborn, the bailiffs assaulted him in his coach, hammed his horses, and threatened no less unto himself, had not the favour of some Welch apprentices come speedily to his rescue; so the bailiffs were seized upon and committed.

Tobie Matthew was yesterday, now a second time, banished the land, as a dangerous man for our collapsed ladies.

His majesty is upon point of conferring a new favour upon Monsieur de Moulin,[1] whom he means to provide of a living donative, *sine curâ animarum*, to the value of six score pounds a-year, which will be a good addition to his prebendaryship of Canterbury, of the like value.

The voice is, that the French king sues a divorce betwixt himself and his queen, under pretence of insufficiency, *quoad illam*. That he threaten to besiege Metz, (whither the Duke de Espernon hath retired himself) in pursuit of the said duke: that he hath offered to send back the queen-mother into Florence; but the great duke refuseth to receive her: so she remains at Moulins: that the Duke de Rohan is designed to an extraordinary embassy hither for the giving our king satisfaction in point of this last and late difference.

[1] Peter de Moulin, a celebrated French divine.

The Lord Digby hath been lately dangerously sick of a squinancy, but is now well forward upon recovery, and expects his declaration for Spain shortly, whither I think I shall go nigh to attend him, though yet I reserve that purpose to myself.

The Duke of Lerma, I am sure you hear, is retired to his house at Lerma; but haply you have not had notice of the honour the King of Spain doth him, in giving him commission and power to open all packets, that shall pass by him, with address unto his majesty, from foreign parts.

There rests no more to trouble you with save the soliciting you again in my former motion concerning Mrs. Frances Ferrars, which Sir Thomas Grantham and my lady so thoroughly affect, as they mean to importune Sir John very hard, at his arrival here this next term; and sooner, by letters, if my lady's health will once permit. But I shall build surer hopes upon your wise and effectual persuasion, whereunto I most earnestly invite you.

Before I had sealed up my letter, my Lady Grantham [1] sent for me, who, in this her long sickness, being grown to a good degree of recovery, in our conceits, is now fallen back again into a very weak state. The Lord comfort her, and sanctify this affliction unto her good, and give a favourable issue; and arm us with Christian resolution against the sorrow, snares, and fears of death, that we may not be as them that have no hope!

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 20, 1618.

The king hath been to Theobalds ever since Wednesday, and comes to town this day; and unless his presence bring us some news, we are like to have a dead and dull Christmas. I am sorry to hear that he grows every day more froward, and with such a kind of morosity, that doth either argue a great discontent in mind, or a distemper of humours in his body. Yet he is never so out of tune, but

[1] Sister to Sir Thomas Puckering.

the very sight of my Lord of Buckingham doth settle and quiet all.

At his last going home, one Singleton, of Trinity College, Cambridge, preaching before him at Royston, fell upon a point of Arminius's doctrine touching university of grace, and so handled it, that he was much displeased, and sent to the doctors, and heads of houses in Cambridge, to convent him, and examine his sermon. They returned a favourable censure, that this, and this, may be said; which was so far from satisfying the king, that he sent for them all, or the most part, to Newmarket, where the question was so narrowly discussed, that he was enjoined to retract what he had said, in the same place, at the king's return thither after Christmas.

On Sunday last, Dr. Felton, Bishop of Bristol, and Dr. Mountaine, Bishop of Lincoln, were censured at Lambeth, where, besides, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Ely, Litchfield, and Rochester, the Archbishop of Spalato concurred in the ceremony of imposing of hands. I hear we shall have his sermon in print, which I hope to send you with the first opportunity. Balcanqual,[1] the Scot, hath got the start of him in the mastership of the Savoy, where he was admitted the beginning of this week, as Dr. Tolson to the deanery of Westminster, much about the same time.

The King of Sweden's ambassador went to Newmarket, where, after a long Latin oration, and thanks for the king's mediation in this late business of the peace, I hear that his private demands were, to have leave to levy men here, in case the war went on 'twixt his master and the King of Poland; that the king would enter into the union with the princes of Germany, for the defence of religion; that whereas, by the last treaty of peace with Denmark, his master was indebted £50,000 sterling to that king, that our merchants should undertake the payment, and have certain copper mines in pawn, till they were discharged, and satisfied.

The French ambassador gives out, that he hath order

[1] Walter Balanqual, made Dean of Rochester, in 1624, and of Durham, in 1639. He died December 25, 1645.

to prepare himself to go home, and leave a secretary or agent, to despatch business here, as we have led the way, and given the example there.

Young Blount, Rich, or Mountjoy, heir[1] to the Earl of Devonshire,[2] is shortly to be made a baron, for the which he parts with the house and land at Wanstead; but whether to the king or Earl of Buckingham, I know not. The lord admiral[3] had a young son about a fortnight since; but it lasted not above a week, and so a pension is saved. He hath resigned his old patent, which is renewed, and the Lord of Buckingham joined with him in it. The young Lord Cromwell, that hath never a plot of land in England, but somewhat in Ireland, shall marry the Lady Lower, as I hear; as likewise Sir —— Moseley, attorney of the Duchy, shall have the Lady Bowyer, at Westminster.

Sir John Swinnerton's eldest son died two days since, much about the time that his father did this time twelvemonth. He hath left a young Dutch widow, without children, but, it is doubted, not altogether in so good a state as he found her.

I know not whether you have heard that Mr. Clarke died about Michaelmas, in better case for wealth than was expected. His books were sold this last week for £400.

Your friend, Tobie Matthew, shall remain here, as it is bruited, and be dispensed withal for taking the oath of allegiance, which were it not in him, I should think it might prove a case of strange consequences. His great friend and protector cannot forbear *pugnare cum larvis*, and is still glancing at the memory of our late deceased friend; as lately in the arguing of the case before him, 'twixt Secretary Lake, and the Lord of Exeter, and the Lord Burghley, about the Lord Roos, he demanding why they had not followed this business sooner, answer was made by the Lord Burghley, and his counsel, that it was undertaken by a worthy counsellor, deceased; who, if he had lived till this time, was in a way to compound it to the satisfaction of all sides. Whereupon he replied, "If you trusted to him, you trusted to a rotten reed, who

[1] Natural son. [2] Sir Charles Blount.
[3] Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham.

would have failed you in the end. Indeed, he had ways of his own; but now he is gone the way of all flesh," &c. This, I assure you, was much misliked by all, or most, that were present, and generally by all that have heard of it since. But they say a live dog hath the 'vantage of a dead lion.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

January 5, 1618-19.

I signified, in some of my former letters, that the Duke de Rohan was expected here ambassador, but acquainted you not with the particular circumstances, because I could not build any sure ground upon the author of my intelligence; who yet, even at first, delivered to me, what I understand to be certain now, that Mr. Wake, in his passage from Turin to England, took Paris in his way, where being arrived, and public notice taken of him as a minister of state for the King of England, two persons of quality came to visit him, persuading him to go and kiss the French king's hand. He excused it, by telling them that he was not ignorant of the disgusts that had happened betwixt the two kings; and that he thought it not safe for him to adventure upon such an act without warrant from his master. They intreated him that he would not depart the town till he heard from them, which he promised. The day following, the Duke of Rohan came unto him, and sought to prevail with him in that wherein the two former were refused; but his answer was still suitable to that before. He concluded his visit, as did the others, that he would not leave the city till he should hear further. The next evening came a messenger to him from the king with this errand, that he desired him to commend him to the king, his brother, and to tell him that, ere long, he would send the Duke de Rohan in an extraordinary embassy to him, to give him satisfaction; and, if that would not suffice, he would come himself. And the secretary of state is there committed, under pretence of having proceeded, in some of these late businesses, without commission from his master.

There hath been lately presented to his majesty a book of no small contentment, which was printed at Toledo, *cum privilegio*, and written by commandment of the king of Spain, wherein the Pope's encroachments upon princes is largely opposed, and the temporalities of kings, against all the Pope's usurpations, notably defended.

A certain Frenchman, having heretofore presented something to his majesty in writing, and being rewarded according to the quality of his desert, though not to his content, used some threatening speeches, as that it would have been better for his majesty to have rewarded him more liberally, for which insolency of his he was banished. This man, these holidays time, placed himself behind a door, where the king was to pass from the guard-chamber to the chapel; and being descried by Dr. Bowles, one of his majesty's chaplains, who knew him, and what had formerly passed upon him, was, upon his discovery, presently apprehended; being searched, there was found in his pocket a long knife and thirty shilling pieces. This, with his former poverty, made the jealousy greater. He is committed a close prisoner; and, upon the aforesaid presumption, men apprehend a treacherous intent.

The voice holds strong for Sir Henry Cary's being made master of the wards, who shall, withal, receive an addition of honour, and be made a baron. But that rumour of Sir Edward Villiers succeeding him grows faint; some think upon a hope himself hath of compassing his former design of being deputy of Ireland. Others say, upon the earnest suit that Sir Henry Cary makes to hold both places; which the king inclines to grant, out of a secret intention (it is thought) of preserving the disposition of that place to Sir Henry Wotton, who is to come home from Venice, and to be here this next spring. This I conceive to be not improbable.

My Lord Digby's employment into Spain is like to be deferred till towards August, when he is to go in quality of ambassador extraordinary. Sir Walter Aston shall be despatched away as lieger this spring, whereof I long since gave you notice; but then it was only in deliberation, now it grows to execution.

I think I advertised you the last week of the match that is like to be concluded between the Marquis of Hamilton, for his son, and my Lady Bedford, for her niece, Mrs. Chichester. The countess, they say, is content to pass over presently all the land of my Lord Harrington unto him, reserving only unto herself a state for life.

The Lakes' business, it is thought, will receive a more favourable issue than was imagined. The marquis was, within these few days, at his house, to visit him; whereupon men frame and build conjectures. My Lord Scroop's patent is now drawing for the presidentship of York. He is to make up the sum, already tendered to my Lord Sheffield, £4,500; and £1500 is to be given elsewhere, by way of gratuity. My Lord Sheffield, at the resigning up of his interest, had this further testimony of the king's favour, that, at his request, his majesty was content to knight every one of the council at York, before not knighted, which were divers; and thence accrues a further profit to his lordship.

There hath been lately a great quarrel here at court, betwixt Sir Henry Rich[1] and Sir Edward Villiers, upon this ground and in this manner. Sir Henry Rich, discerning a change in the marquis's behaviour towards him, conceived presently some ill offices to have been done by some, and addressed himself to Sir Edward Villiers, by way of friendship, that if he were privy to any such matter, he might know his accuser, and come unto his purgation; and, pressing the point very far, Sir Edward asked him what he would say, if he brought him the man to his face to justify what had been reported to my lord, the other replied, he would esteem it a special favour and courtesy. "To-morrow," replied Sir Edward, "I will so order it, that you shall speak with him, being there at court." Sir Henry Rich returned answer, that would be no fit place, and would more willingly meet him somewhere else. In fine, Sir Edward Villiers told him himself was the man. "I hope," said the other, "you will do me reason." Then a challenge was made and accepted, and two seconds appointed; Mr. Charles Rich for his

[1] Afterwards created Lord Kensington and Earl of Holland.

brother, and Mr. ..... Epsley to the contrary. To the field they went, or, rather, went onwards to the field, for they had not appointed any set place, but rode out altogether, and could not agree upon the choice. The report is, that Sir Henry Rich instanced in divers, but they pleased not; and having found one, at length, to both their humours, a new difference arose between the seconds, for Mr. Rich was fresh come out of France, and would needs observe the French custom of fighting with the other second. Epsley told him he had no quarrel against him, and could not resolve to fight. So, whilst these things were disputing, Maxwell, who was sent after them, comes in, and brings them all back; and I do not hear whether the controversy be determined. I need not give caveat to reserve the particular relation of this quarrel to yourself: your wisdom will judge it fitting.

I shall conclude with my lord admiral's entertainment of Stukeley, who, being vice-admiral of the western parts, and pretending to come and give an account to his lordship of his office, came and placed himself in the dining-chamber, there expecting till his lordship passed; who taking no notice of him, he stepped to him, acquainting him with the occasion of his coming. "What," said my lord, "thou base fellow—thou! who art reputed the scorn and contempt of men—how darest thou offer thyself into my presence? Were it not in my own house, I would cudgel thee with my staff, for presuming to be so saucy."

Stukeley made his complaint unto the king, whose answer was: "What wouldst thou have me do? Wouldst thou have me hang him? Of my soul, if I should hang all that speak ill of thee, all the trees in the country would not suffice, so great is the number." This I have at the third hand, Sir Oliver Cromwell being the original reporter. But this, likewise, I commend to your secrecy, because I know not to what censure the divulging even of such things as these may be subject.

My Lady Grantham mends, God be thanked.

I forgot to acquaint you, in my former letter, with a match that hath been here shuffled up between Sir Thomas

Smith's only son[1] and Mrs. Isabella Rich;[2] who, finding themselves both together at Sir ..... Udals, some few days since, and liking well enough either the other, my lord chamberlain, who was there present, sent for his own chaplain, to Barnard Castle, to make the matter sure by marrying them; who making some difficulty, for that they had no licence, his lordship encouraged him, upon assurance of saving him harmless. So they were presently married; and from thence conducted to my Lord of Southampton's to dinner, and to my Lady Bedford's to bed, where all was consummate. But the father is a heavy man to see his son bestowed without his privity and consent.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 12, 1618-19.

I have heretofore acquainted you with my Lord of Wallingford's just fears, and Sir Henry Carey's hopes, touching the mastership of the Wards. Upon Friday last, the former resigned up his patent to the king, without any other kind of recompense than the favour of kissing his majesty's hands. Yet is the latter frustrate. His friends report that he had the offer, but refused it, in regard the last book of instructions do so restrain and limit that office, as eclipses much both the honour and profit of that employment. But I rather think Sir Lionel Cranfield's offers, of raising that court to a high improvement of his majesty's revenue, hath been the only motive of diverting the king's intentions to Sir Henry Carey, and inclining them towards himself, who is now in possession of that office.

There hath run up and down a loud voice, that my lord chief justice of England should be lord treasurer; but I think it built upon unsure grounds, and hold myself to my first man, Sir Fulk Greville; whose leavings, some report, are like to fall to Sir Thomas Lake's share, in recompense

[1] Sir John Smith, of Sutton at Hone, and Barnard's, in Kent.
[2] Daughter of Robert, Earl of Warwick, by Penelope, sister of the Earl of Essex.

of his secretaryship, which the king designs unto some other, as yet not known.

Upon Twelfthnight, Stukeley was committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse, for clipping of gold. He had received out of the Exchequer, some week before, £500, in recompense for the service he had done in the business of Sir Walter Raleigh; and began, as is said, to exercise the trade upon that ill gotten money—the price of blood. The manner of the discovery was strange, if my occasions would suffer me to relate the particulars. Upon examination, he endeavoured to avoid it from himself, by casting the burthen either upon his son or man. The former plays least in sight, and cannot be found. The servant was committed to the Marshalsea, who, understanding, as they say, that his master would shift over the business to him, is willing to set the saddle upon the right horse, and accuses his master.

From France, we hear that the Cardinal of Savoy has so effectually negociated the treaty of marriage with France, for the prince, his brother, as he hath driven the matter to a conclusion; and the *principe major*, as they say, is sent for to be espoused to his mistress.

Those of the religion, I hear, stand but in ill terms with the king; for holding a general assembly at Rochelle, to advise and consult upon their common affairs, without his royal approbation—nay, expressly against his command—he, to show his resentment thereof, hath clapt up the deputies of the Religion in prison, and begins to arm, to their further terror. The Lord avert all evil from his Church; and so direct and protect them, as they may prosper, despite of all such as may oppose them.

My Lady Grantham, I hope, grows on upon recovery; yet hath she many fits, that cast her back, and sometimes beget fears.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 16, 1618-9.

The letter to your sister, concerning Abel Barnard's business, that came enclosed in yours of the 4th of this

present, is delivered. And I make no doubt, but so soon as he shall have notice thereof, he will not neglect your good advice, but make to you with all possible speed.

Since my last, we have had here a great mischance by fire at Whitehall, which, beginning in the banqueting house, hath quite consumed it, and put the rest in great danger, but that there was so much help at hand, besides that which was sent out of London on all sides, and so good order taken, by the presence of the lord chancellor, the Duke,[1] and the Earl of Arundel, that all passed with as much quiet as was possible in such a confusion; and the fire, though it was exceeding furious, kept from spreading further than the limits of that building, saving only, that the vehemency of the heat burnt down one of the rotten terraces or galleries adjoining, and took hold of the pulpit-place, which was soon quenched. One of the greatest losses spoken of, is the burning of all, or most of the writings and papers belonging to the offices of the Signet, Privy Seal, and Council Chamber, which were under it. And, in such a mishap, it fell out happily to be in the day time, about eleven o'clock, on Tuesday, the 12th of this month. For, if it had happened in the night, the whole house, and all in it, had been in great danger; for, though it were at high noon, yet there was much embezzling, and much spoil, though there was as much provision made against it as the shortness of time could permit, and divers taken with the manner, and committed. There is much speech of divers miscarried; but we hear yet no certainty, only some are hurt and maimed; and the fire is not yet so thoroughly quenched, that they can search any corner. You may guess at the fury of it, when it lasted not in any strength above an hour. Divers reports run, how it came; but the most current is, that a mean fellow, searching in the masquing or tiring room, with a candle, for certain things he had hid there, fired some oiled painted cloths, and pasteboards, with such other stuff, and seeing he could not quench it alone, went out and locked the door after him, thinking so to conceal himself.

[1] Of Lennox.

There is doubt that this will hinder the king coming to town this Candlemas, when the masque should have been repeated the second time: which would come ill to pass for the Lady of Exeter, who hopes, that the king hearing her cause this term, will do her all right in repairing her honour and reputation.

There is an information already put into the Star Chamber against the Earl of Suffolk, his lady, and Sir John Bingley, and, besides, a letter of intimation from the council-table, ordinary process gave out against them. If they submit themselves, the king will deal with them as shall seem good to his wisdom and justice. But, if they stand out, the proofs are said to be so pregnant and manifest, that they cannot be avoided. The attorney's pains is spared in this cause, and the solicitor had the drawing of the bill, and the managing of the whole business. Yet I do not hear but the attorney is like to continue his place; for, if the lord chief justice be made lord treasurer, the chief baron is in election to be chief justice, and Sergeant Finch chief baron.

I hear, that Merchant Taylors' Hall is appointed the place of meeting for our commissioners and the States, which have not yet had any conference with them. But ours have divers meetings and feasting among themselves, as this day at Mr. Treasurer's, on Thursday last at Sir Thomas Smith's, to instruct and fortify themselves, the better to encounter your States, that are said to come so well prepared.

The day that the king departed from hence, he sent Sir Lionel Cranfield to the Lord Knollys, or Wallingford, for his patent of the mastership of the Wards, which he delivered and surrendered to him; and, it is said, to be bestowed on him. But some think he must, in lieu thereof, part with the mastership of the wardrobe to Sir Edward Villiers, which, his friends say, is no part of his meaning, but to keep both.

Mrs. Clare, that was the Lord Walden's mistress, is said to be married; but I know not where, nor to whom. Sir Henry Mildmay, of the Jewel House, shall marry a daugh-

ter of Alderman Holydays, that is thought will prove a great match.

Among the rest, we had a wedding here at her house, on Thursday, of young Drury, her nephew, that married one Paine's daughter of this town, with whom he hath £5500, paid presently, besides expectation of a better portion. The bride's mother and grandmother are of Amsterdam.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 19, 1618-9.

The only news of the present is this; the Earl of Suffolk and his lady were last week served with a writ, summoning them to appear in the Star Chamber at the beginning of the term. There is a bill drawn against them two, and Sir John Bingley, likewise; and their cause is to be heard (though not haply to be determined) either Wednesday, or Friday, next week.

The day after Candlemas-day is like to decide Sir Thomas Lake's controversy, his majesty resolving to be there present at the hearing. In point of honour, it is thought the matter will incline favourably on my Lady of Exeter's side. The issue of other differences will sort suitable to the proofs.

Sir Lionel Cranfield, some say, is like to depart without the office of being master of the wardrobe, to the benefit of Sir William Fielding.[1]

The unhappy accident that chanced at Whitehall, last week, by fire, you cannot but have heard of; but haply not the manner how, which was this. A joiner was appointed to mend some things that were out of order in the device of the masque, which the king meant to have repeated at Shrovetide, who, having kindled a fire upon a false hearth, to heat his glue-pot, the force thereof pierced soon, it seems, the single brick, and, in a short time that he absented himself upon some occasion, fastened upon the basis, which was of dry deal board, underneath; which suddenly conceiving flame, gave fire to the device

[1] Afterwards created Baron and Viscount Fielding, and Earl of Derby.

of the masque, all of oiled paper, and dry fir, &c. And so, in a moment, disposed itself among the rest of that combustible matter, that it was past any man's approach, before it was almost discovered. Two hours begun and ended that woful sight. All the loss was bounded in the banqueting house, and in the offices underneath. All the records of the Signet office utterly perished, one chest of writings only excepted. So quick and furious was the fire that, though there were some present in the said office when the same first kindled, yet found they difficulty enough to save themselves. The city, they say, will repair part of the loss, by building up a banqueting house at proper cost and charge.

This sad news I shall sauce with a little that is more pleasant. A Spanish lady, having much importuned the Duke of Osseda, the only privado of that court, as you know, in his father's absence, in a just cause, as she conceived, but without success, prevailed yet at length thus far with him, that by his means she might present a petition to the king. But the way being made open, instead of tendering that which she seriously propounded, she delivered a paper, without any other contents but these :—

" Señor, señor, señor,
Aun el hijo es heor."

This scorn was seconded by another, and by an awkward person, who, finding the Duke of Lerma's picture, and the Duke of Osseda's, standing both together in some public room at court, wrote with a coal, as followeth :—

" Alcavales sisus, y milliones,
Son por esteo dor ladrones."

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, January 26, 1618-19.

For news, domestic affairs offered none, for aught I hear, save this, that the Earl of Suffolk and his lady have the favour to answer in the Star Chamber by their counsel, without being obliged to any personal appearance.

That what reflects upon us from other parts is this,

that my Lord Digby hath lately received a packet from Spain, and therein some lines from the king's own hands, which imports in effect thus much—first, thanks for those friendly offices already performed by him to the king, his brother; then an earnest invitation to a continuance; and, in particular, to excuse the slackness of his proceedings concerning the match, as not arising from any voluntary delays for private advantage, but necessarily occasioned by the long and dangerous sickness of his confessor, who must be the only leader and director of his conscience in point of religion; with a farther assurance, that immediately upon his recovery he will seriously intend it, and hath already allotted two days every week for the ripening these matters, to the more timely bringing forth of fruit.

A ship arrived here the last week, that brings news of a mighty fleet the Spaniard hath at sea, far surpassing that of '88, wherein are four score thousand land forces, as they voice it forth. I believe not half, though the report wants not some foundation. That preparation that is, is pretended to be for Algiers; is conceived by others to be against the Gulf of Venice; and haply it may not be without some reference, by way of check and prevention to the Hollanders' design, who have put fifty sail in readiness, with purpose, this spring, to attempt a plantation in the West Indies, if so by this means their project prove not abortive.

From Spain likewise is informed, how the Duke of Lerma hath utterly left the king; and that that honour which was done him, in permitting him to open all packets, was only to bury his *privaca* with pomp, in the succession whereof the Duke of * * * hath a far less part than is made show of, the Prince of Savoy being now reported the only great favourite of that court.

There happened lately a great quarrel between the Duke of Sea and the oldest son of the Conde de Veraguas, descended from Columbus. The original was some mistress; the place appointed, Santa Barbare; their seconds, the Conde de Quenca to the Duke of Sea, and to the other his brother; but the night before this duel should

be fought, these two brothers were seized upon in their beds, and committed both to several prisons. The Duke of Sea, either not hearing or not taking notice of what had happened, appears in the place appointed, expecting his adversary. The father of the two prisoners, understanding how the matter had proceeded, came and presented himself to the combat, offering to maintain his sons' quarrel, but before any blows were divided officers interposed themselves, and committed the Duke of Sea to custody likewise; where I must leave him, as not knowing any further of the issue.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 2, 1618-19.

Solomon teaches me how unpleasing a thing bad news is like to prove,[1] by comparing the good under the comparison of "good waters to a thirsty soul," which made me not press to be the first messenger of that unhappy subject which your letter mentions; if yet that may be styled unhappy which is every man's debt, and the Christian's hope. You have already, I perceive, lift up your eyes to the first author, the divine Providence, wherein you cannot choose but behold such an excellent conjuncture of wisdom and goodness, as admits of no manner of contradiction. You have gone farther, to discern in God a chastising hand upon you. Let me make the inference thereupon of God's favour and affection: "for whom the Lord loveth He chastiseth; yea, as many as He loves He rebukes and chastens." You rise yet a step higher, and discover a desire to profit by it. Indeed, that is the end why our father afflicteth. Hebrew, 12th and the 10th: "He chasteneth us for our profit;" whether it be to prepare us for grace, by striking a dread into our hearts, and thereby opening our ears unto discipline, or to manifest his grace in us; for, as the stars shine brightest in the darkest night, so some Christian virtues, as patience, hope, &c., are never well discovered but in

[1] The writer refers to the recent death of Sir Thomas Puckering's sister.

the obscure times of trouble and adversity, according to the Revelation, 14, 12: "He is the patience of the saints," or to preserve grace in us, by keeping the fear of God fresh over the soul; in which respect it is truly said, that "Blessed is the man that feareth always:" or to further the growth of grace in us, by way of exercise, which, as it is profitable to the body, so it is likewise for the soul; for "we faint not," saith the apostle, "for though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed daily;" or by way of restraint from those things that hinder the growth of grace, for as warm, dripping weather increaseth the weeds, the cold, nipping frosts hinder them; so, prospering many times is a means of multiplying transgressions and sins, which adversity, like nipping frosts, keeps down, according to that of the Psalmist: "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I keep Thy word;" so that which way soever we turn them, we shall find that God leads perpetually to profiting by them. All which considerations, both of the Author, the affections, and the end, must needs be excellent motives of comfort and consolation, specially in this particular, wherein excess of sorrow must needs call in question either our faith or charity, as either not believing the resurrection unto life, or distrusting the condition of our friend in death. Which being so, I should wrong that moderation of mind which I know to be in you, if I should apply other fomentation to the pain which this accident must engender, when I can give the testimony of your sister's most comfortable and Christian departure; which, if it might be every body's lot, happy they that might attain thereto soonest.

I know not how fit it will be to join with a subject of this nature matters of news; but I represent unto myself such a settled resolution of mind in you, so free from perturbations, as sways my judgment to think these likewise not impertinent.

The Earl of Suffolk's process is now on foot, but shall proceed to issue by way of bill and answer; so as there is not like to be much noise thereof till it come to censure, which will be long first. His accusation, as I hear, is reduced unto four heads—embezzling some jewels of the

crown; applying to his own use and profit certain sums of money, intended and appointed for provisions of ordnance; licensing unlawfully transportations of artillery out of the land, &c.

Sir Thomas Lake's cause received its first overture in open court upon Wednesday last, by way of preparation to the king's own hearing to-morrow. The first action was brought against Luke Hatton, who hath been charged by Sir Thomas Lake to be the author of a libel, wherein he accuses the Lady of Exeter for attempting to poison the Lady Roos. This bill my Lady of Exeter laboured to have withdrawn, under pretence that by many impertinent examinations, no whit respecting the cause, her honour was traduced; which proposition of hers being put to voices, Sir Edward Coke first voted in favour of her motion, arguing the bill of invalidity, and not to be tried in that court, inasmuch as the party offended did not bring the accusation (for that was my Lady of Exeter), but a third person, whom it concerned not; fortifying his reason by a book case of one Lambe, against whom had been preferred a bill in the same court, for being author of a libel against the prebends and other ecclesiastics of Peterborough; which, being prosecuted by one that was nothing touched in the libel, was therefore rejected as frivolous and impertinent. Sir Fulk Greville seconded him. The two lord chief justices maintained the contrary, upon this ground, that howsoever Sir Thomas Lake was not directly and expressly touched by the libel, yet did it indirectly and implicitly reflect upon him; sith, if Hatton were not proved to be the author, it would be fathered upon him. And so the greater number followed these, though all concurred in a joint consent, that whatsoever was impertinent to the cause should be retrenched, and nothing produced in court but what directly made for the proof of the thing in question, providing thereby that the honour of the lady might be salved.

The voice of the Spanish preparation by sea finds sufficient warrant; only they are not in that degree of forwardness that was reported; for a great part of their ships are yet upon the stocks; twelve are at Dunkirk; as many

at the Groyne; and others at St. Andrea; and indeed all along the coast of Gallicia, where they are as busy in building as may be. His land forces likewise are esteemed very great, drawing near upon 50,000; and, if my intelligence deceives me not, the king is not without strong apprehensions of some treacherous design against him.

His majesty hath given order for the putting his navy in a readiness, which the East India Company have undertaken to do, the king furnishing men and money, within three months. The alarm hereof hath, as I hear, facilitated much the negociation of the States, who have brought their business to a fairer issue than they promised themselves. They demanded a year's respite to consider further upon the difference about fishing. That is granted. The decision likewise of the East Indian quarrel is remitted to a further day; and, in the interim, it is agreed upon that both nations shall trade and traffic freely and quietly together without interruption; and an offensive and defensive league is likewise propounded, under a faster tie, the better to prevent the common danger.

We have been lately not a little frighted by another fire at Deptford, threatening, not a private, but a public calamity; for it fixed upon, in a furious manner, a certain house of Sir Thomas Smith, adjoining upon the store-house of shipping for the king. But the wind blew a contrary way; and although that were in a short time burnt down to the earth, yet this remained untouched.

I shall conclude in gallantry; the prince this year becomes a tilter, and forbears this next Newmarket journey, that he may have time to practise.

Sir Thomas Grantham, without my privity, hath already set the motion on foot to Sir John Ferrars, as being left in charge with him by his wife. You will please to favour it with your best help, to all such as may be useful; for I hope the content will be general, besides the advantages that may ensue thereupon to some in particular.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 9, 1618-19.

Since my last letters, the apprehension of the Spaniards is not a little increased by three circumstances; first, by the retreat of the Spanish merchants, who are, upon the sudden, as the voice of the court is, vanished. Secondly, by the great defect of powder, which is represented to the council to be generally found. And, thirdly, by an excessive transportation of ordnance; my Lord of Hunsdon bringing in an information of 200 pieces of artillery, which, at one time, were shipped away for Spain, upon the coast of Sussex. Yet is not his majesty willing to discover any fear; though, as I wrote before, wise men think he is not free from apprehension.

The Venetian ambassador hath lately had audience of the king and prince, and by the discourse that passed betwixt his highness and him, I make judgment of his errand to his majesty. He therefore represented the jealousy of the State of Venice; justly conceived that all this preparation of the Spaniard was for them; fortifying this fear by the provision he makes in Italy, and upon that coast of Spain, which looks towards them, where he raises an armada no less puissant than that which hath its aspect towards us. The confidence of that State he showed to be chiefly in our king, who was the only prince upon whom they did rely. His aid they now implored, chiefly by way of prevention, that these two armadas might not meet. For against the one, they doubted not but to make their party good, though both would find them feeble; prefacing this motion by the dangerous consequences that would follow to all other princes if the Spaniard made himself master of the Gulf and lord of Italy, which his ambition aimed at, and these exorbitant forces threatened.

The prince's answer was that the King of Spain had engaged his word that his design reached no further than Algiers, and that he hoped he would not falsify it; but if it once appeared that he, *de facto*, addressed his face against the State of Venice, or any other Christian State or prince, he knew how nearly it would concern both his majesty

and all other Christian princes to oppose his proceedings, and promised, for his own particular, all possible furtherance, both by way of mediation to the king and otherwise.

Their suit is like to speed the better by the change of our admiral for the Marquis of Buckingham, who now only exerciseth the place, the other having absolutely resigned, and receiving in recompense £1000 a-year for life, and £3000 to the use of his eldest son by his wife, is held to be no inward friend to Spain, whatsoever demonstration he maketh outwardly. Yet is he no puritan; for, you see, he is doubly beneficed, being both admiral and master of the horse.

My Lady of Exeter's and Sir Thomas Lake's cause hath already had three days of hearing, his majesty personally assisting at them all. Two days more, which are to be to-morrow and Friday, are like to determine the controversy. Hitherto, matters have fallen very foul on Sir Thomas Lake's side, and the world prognosticates a very heavy censure. The particulars I leave to Mr. Whitwick's relation, at his return into the country, for they require a book, rather than a letter. The king, in one of his speeches, touched much upon a strict observation of Lent, restraining the liberty of giving license to any from all but bishops, and those to dispense with none, save in cases of necessity, witnessed under the physician's hand; and signifying his pleasure further, that all delinquents should be severely punished, not only they that sell flesh without licence, but they that take liberty to eat it likewise.

From France, I hear that them of the Assembly of the Religion at Rochelle are declared rebels, by a decree in Court of Parliament at Paris, and all their goods confiscate; and the French king hath sent to all the other courts to ratify the same decree in their several jurisdictions.

Touching the motion, I earnestly propounded for a match with Sir John Ferrars, I despair of any good event, Sir Robert Cary's demands reaching a great deal further than ever heretofore intimated to me. Howsoever, he hath reason to acknowledge your love, which I have amplified unto him by all due circumstances.

Sir Thomas Wynne to Sir Dudley Carleton.

February 14, 1618-19.

These only serve to present my service, and the event of that great cause, now determined, between my Lady Exeter and Sir Thomas Lake, which continued five days, the king every day present. The first day, Sir Thomas Lake's bill against Luke Hatton; the second day, my Lady of Exeter's bill against Sir Thomas Lake's wife and daughter, and both his sons; the third day, Sir Thomas Lake's answer; the fourth, a cross bill of young Sir Thomas Lake's against my Lady of Exeter; and the fifth day, the censure, which was upon Saturday last, being the last day of term. To set down the particular passages of these days, would be but tedious; and therefore I will reserve them for some fitter opportunity, and contain myself only to the censure.

Sir Thomas Lake and his lady are fined at £5000 a piece; my Lady Roos, at 10,000 marks; young Sir Thomas Lake, at £300, and £1000 damage to my Lady of Exeter; £500 to Luke Hatton; £200 to one Williams; and £100 to another woman: and imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, upon their own charges, and to make satisfaction to my Lady of Exeter. Sarah Waite, one that waited on my Lady Lake, and her chief witness, fined at £500, and committed to the Fleet; and from thence, one day to be whipped to Westminster, and another day from the Fleet to Cheapside; and there to be burned in the face with an *A*, and an *F*, for false accusation, and from thence to Bridewell, to remain all her life.

There were some that would fain have extenuated the fault of old Sir Thomas Lake; as my Lord Digby, and my lord chancellor. The papists are much dejected at it; and it was told the king, that the good success of Sir Thomas Lake's cause was prayed for at Louvain. Sir Julius Cæsar was sent yesterday to Sir Thomas Lake, to take the seals from him, and this night, about eight of the clock, the lieutenant carried him away to the Tower.

It hath been here a general report of a long time, that Mr. Packer should be secretary. And now they say Sir George Calvert stands for it. I was in a place, this after-

noon, where a gentleman of good understanding offered to lay two to one of your lordship, against any man that could be named; which did not a little rejoice me. There are many of your friends could wish your lordship present here at this time. Though I doubt not you have powerful seconds in your absence; notwithstanding, your presence would be much available. I hope your lordship will pardon my boldness, in this proceeding from him, that doth faithfully wish you all honour, and your most affectionate servant, to his power. My Lord Suffolk entreated time of the king, for putting in his answer till the next term; which his majesty denied, and would yield him but ten days. The king goeth to-morrow for Newmarket. There is half a dozen ships of the king's making ready, and twenty merchants', which shall join with six-and-twenty Hollanders. My Lord Sheffield is a suitor to command them, who hath given over his presidentship of York to my Lord Scroope. They say the States refuse that their ships should be commanded by our admiral. The business betwixt them, and our East India Company, goeth but slowly forward, notwithstanding that they have agreed upon the first article.

The king, upon Saturday, after the censuring of the cause, gave the judges their charge, exhorting to have a special care of the papists, and likewise of their wives; for he said, the women were the nourishers of papistry in this kingdom * * *,[1] which our Catholic ladies take very ill; and one pretty allegory, which the king had in his censure upon Sir Thomas Lake's cause, which I may not omit, comparing my Lady Lake to the Serpent, my Lady Roos to Eve, and Sir Thomas Lake to Adam.

The king's house at Dublin, in Ireland, was burnt about the same time that Whitehall was, and Sir Thomas Smith's house at Deptford is burned to the ground.

My Lord Rich, this morning, arrested a ship which is come from the East Indies, called the Bull, upon an action of sixteen hundred thousand pounds; and some of the merchants went and complained to the king; and the king

[1] A line here has been struck out—his majesty intimating, in the coarsest language he could use, that a Roman Catholic female could not be a modest woman: in which, however, he passed an unenviable stigma on himself, without being aware of it.

sent for my Lord Rich, and he would compound the business: but my Lord Rich was very earnest with his majesty, that he might have the benefit of a subject to wage law against them. But the king would not yield to it.

Sir Henry Rich hath a second quarrel; for Sir Edward Villiers, upon their reconciliation, told him, that one Mr. Eyres, brother to Sir John Eyres, was the author of some words, that Sir Henry Rich should speak. He went up to Eyres's chamber, with a gentleman with him, and from words to blows; but, at last, the two gentlemen that were with them made them friends.

The marshal of Ireland, Sir Richard Wingfield, is made a viscount in Ireland, Viscount Powerscourt,[1] and gave my Lord Huntingdon five-and-twenty hundred pounds.

Here was a speech of 4000 men to go to the Palsgrave, and my Lord of Oxford and my Lord Willoughby were both suitors for them. But now there is little speech of it. Here is news come that the emperor is dead, and that the King of Spain diverts his great preparations for this year.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, February 16, 1618-19.

Since my last letters, an express hath arrived here from our agent at Madrid, that brings none of the most pleasing news, I conceive; for that my Lord Digby, in charactering the letters, that were writ in ciphers, was observed to be extraordinarily sad and melancholy. But these things, whatsoever they be, are as yet hid in mystery. That which was not covered under ciphers imported, as I hear, a declaration from Mr. Cottingham, in the King of Spain's name, that these preparations of his have no manner of reference to our quarters, with protestation only for Algiers. His majesty, I hear, applauding that design of his, replies, that he will put his navy in a readiness, likewise to assist and second so brave an enterprise. And to-morrow my lord admiral goes to Chatham, &c., to view the navy, and to give order accordingly.

My Lord Sheffield is appointed to be vice-admiral of the

[1] See vol. i., p. 242.

fleet, if the matter come once to execution. And some say my Lord of Southampton shall command our land forces.

His majesty hath written to the knights of the shire, and justices of the peace, in these quarters, the one to provide that the soldiers be diligently trained, all officers mustered, &c., likewise, and to have a special care that men and munition be in a readiness: the other to give order that the beacons be diligently watched, with fire ever ready at hand, to give the alarm; which may serve as a commentary to the former flourish, that all shows be for aid and assistance.

Upon Sunday last, his majesty gave strict command in the Star Chamber, that none might be suffered to be of the commission of the peace whose wife was a recusant; and that a heedful eye should be had to all the papists in the land.

That which makes the jealousy the stronger is, the choice the King of Spain hath made of so many English commanders: the Earl of Carlisle, who was every day expected at Madrid, when the courier departed; Neville, who pretends to be Earl of Westmoreland; Tyrone's son, and Sir Robert Dudley, who is now in the archduke's court. Though if it be fit for me to deliver my foolish fancy, I cannot but think the Venetian hath far more reason to apprehend than we, upon these motions; first, for that there is great preparation of galleys and galleons, which are not so proper for our seas; secondly, because the rendezvous is appointed at Barcelona, where the King of Spain may fittest embark his land forces, and set them ashore at Genoa, and afterwards make forwards for the Gulf; and thirdly, and lastly, because by this means the Spaniard shall be able *d'une pierre faire deux coups;* avenge himself upon the Venetian for maintaining the Savoyard against him, and be ready to succour the declining state of the House of Austria, with others of the popish faction in Germany, whither, haply, his first intention led him. Yet it is wisdom, when every man has his sword drawn, not to keep it in his sheath[1]. Diffidence is the mother of Prudence.

The great cause is now censured; differently according

[1] Not to keep one's own in its sheath.

to the tripartite nature thereof, but all against Sir Thomas Lake. For, in the first cause, Sir Thomas Lake, the father, was plaintiff, and Luke Hatton defendant. Here Sir Thomas Lake is fined at £200 to the king; damage to the defendant, £500 more. In the second cause, the Lady of Exeter is plaintiff; Sir Thomas Lake, the lady his wife, the Lady Roos, Sir Arthur Lake, Sarah Swarton,[1] are defendants. The two former fined at £5000 apiece, the third at 10,000 marks, the fifth at £500. Sir Arthur was reputed generally, in the conscience of the court, guilty; but, for want of direct proof, not censured. Sir Thomas Lake further condemned in damages to the countess, £3000. In the third cause, young Sir Thomas Lake, plaintiff; the Countess of Exeter, Elizabeth Gresham (her chambermaid), George Williams, defendants. The plaintiff here fined to the king at 500 marks; to the countess, £1000; to Gresham, £100; to Williams, £200. The total sum of all being £22,331. 6s. 8d. To this was added, a further censure of imprisonment in the Tower, upon their own charge, to Sir Thomas Lake, his lady, and Lady Roos, during the king's pleasure; and a public recognition of their offence, for reparation of honour to the countess, in the most ample manner that his majesty should devise. Sarah Swarton adjudged to the Fleet; from thence to be whipt to Westminster, and after from the same place to Cheapside, there to be branded with F. A., signifying *false accusation*, one letter on either cheek; to return back again to the Fleet, there to remain until they do weary of her, and then to be sent to Bridewell, there to spend and end her days. To this construction the court jointly concurred, the Lord Digby only excepted; who extenuated Sir Thomas Lake's offences, and mitigated his fine. And to make the justice of the cause more clear in favour of the countess, the king, after the sentence pronounced, delivered in open court, how, when he first took examination thereof from the Lady Roos, he asked her whether she would depose upon her oath what she had affirmed; who pretended, yes. But when his majesty commanded the Bible to be brought, and

[1] She is called Waite in Sir Thomas Wynne's letter.

tendered it, she started back, and refused to take it. Whereupon his majesty dismissed her, and sent for her father, bade him be advised what he did, and how far he listened to his daughter's speeches, for that she refused to make good her accusation upon her oath. Sir Thomas went home, dealt with his daughter in private, writes a letter with his own hand to the king, importing that his daughter was resolved to take her oath; sent his daughter with the letter; but when his majesty, pressing it upon her conscience, tendered her the oath, she started back as before, and refused a second time: an evident argument of a guilty conscience. The old *Serpent*, her mother, had beguiled her; she was Eve, who, being beguiled, seduced her father, Adam: and with what fruit the world was now witness.

This was his majesty's comparison. Each man's particular speech I leave to other relations. The Bishop of London's, Secretary Naunton's, and Sir Fulk Greville's, carried away the prize from the rest. Sir Edward Coke voted first, and what censure he set down the others followed.

Mansury, the French apothecary, who joined with Stukeley in the accusation of Sir Walter Raleigh, is taken at Plymouth for clipping of gold, as was his companion. His examination was sent up hither to the king; wherein he [confessed] (as I hear from Sir Robert Winde, cupbearer, I think, to his majesty, who saith he read the examination) that his accusation against Raleigh was false, and that he was moved thereto by the practice and importunity of Stukeley;[1] and now acknowledges this, his present miserable condition, to be a judgment of God upon him for that.

From Sir Thomas Grantham, I hear, that to induce my Lady Hatton to settle the better of her land upon Sir John Villiers, there is offer made to make her a countess, and, by her procurement, the Lord Burleigh a privy councillor.

I shall conclude my letter with an accident that hap-

[1] Likely enough; but who moved Stukeley? The fact is plain enough, that the original mover of the treachery was more treacherous than either, and was ashamed of his tools, after he had employed them.

pened at the Venetian ambassador's at Madrid, upon Shrove Tuesday last, after their account. You know the liberty, or rather licentiousness of that time, in those parts. The ambassador was newly arrived, and had not yet had audience; when one of his people, in imitation of what he saw others do, cast some filth upon a Spaniard, who, not brooking the jest, drew, and so did the other likewise; and their drawing occasioned divers others to do the same likewise, so as four or five were slain upon the place, Spaniards and Venetians. The officers, observing a time when the Venetian ambassador was abroad, broke open his house, fixed upon all those servants of his they found, committed them to prison, and in these terms the courier left them.

The motion for Mrs. Frances Ferrars I hope shall yet proceed, and the conditions will be accepted, if the parties can like. My lady sent her younger son on Sunday last to see her, whom Sir Thomas Grantham conducted. Upon his relation, they will grow to a conclusion; and I hope, at Easter, when Sir Robert and Sir Henry come to Killingworth, the elder shall commence the suit on his part. Here it cannot be at this present, by reason of my lady's absence at Hampton Court.

His majesty hath newly published a book, being certain meditations on the Lord's prayer, which he hath dedicated to the Marquis of Buckingham, as the preface can inform you. You shall receive it herein likewise.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 20, 1618-19.

I can neither add nor subtract much from that I wrote last week, of Sir Thomas Lake's business, but that only that the damages given the Lady of Exeter are not so great by £1000 as was said at first. The seals were fetched from him on Sunday, in the evening; and the next day he sent a petition to the king, for mitigation of his fine and damages, and that his imprisonment might be changed into confining to his own or some friend's house. The king's answer was, that, for what concerned himself, it

was yet too early days to make such a motion; and for the costs and damages, he had nothing to do with them, for they belonged to another. But the king was displeased with the petition, for that he did not only extenuate his fault, but, in a sort, justify himself, as not privy to any unlawful practice; in which point, all his friends and well-wishers would seem likewise to excuse him. Whereupon, the king hath taken pains since, and left order with the two chief justices to examine the matter to the bottom, that there may be no colour left for any such opinion; as, indeed, to all indifferent men that heard the cause, the matter is more than manifest. Sarah hath likewise been examined again, and, upon confession of the truth, promised to be released of her punishment; but hitherto she stands obdurate, and, I think, this day is to be first whipped, if she redeem not herself, as the Lady Lake wished her to do at parting with her, upon any condition, without regarding them at all; which was a crafty and malicious counsel, however the matter should fall out. As also Sir Thomas Lake wished her to be constant in the truth; but, whether she did or not, she should not want while he lived. On Monday, towards eight o'clock at night, himself, his lady, and the Lady Roos, were sent to the Tower in several coaches, and lodged asunder, in several lodgings, as close prisoners; though Sir Nicholas Fortescue, a great friend of his, Will Lake, his secretary, and his solicitor, are allowed to have access to him. They say she takes this affliction very impatiently, and was fain to be carried, as it were, by violence into the coach; a thing usual to such insolent natures, that can neither bear prosperity nor adversity.

The king went to Theobalds on Tuesday; but, before his going, Sir George Calvert was sworn secretary. I had an inkling of it two or three days before, though the patent was drawn with a blank, and the voice ran generally with Packer. The night before he was sworn, the Lord of Buckingham told him the king's resolution; but he disabled himself divers ways, but specially, that he thought himself unworthy to sit in that place, so lately possessed by his noble lord and master. The king was well pleased

with his answer and modesty; and, sending for him, asked many questions, most about his wife. His answer was, that she was a good woman, and had brought him ten children; and would assure his majesty that she was not a wife with a witness. This, and some other passages of this kind, seem to show that the king is in a great vein for taking down high-handed women. And yet the Lady Hatton doth manage her matters so well, that she daily wins ground of her husband, holding her great friends still in hope and expectation, who are loth otherwise to exasperate her, if they may win her by fair means. I can say nothing more; but, seeing she would do you no good in this cause, I pray God she did you no harm.

Sir John Suckling is become master of the Requests, and some say Sir George Mompesson is made clerk of the council, in Sir George Calvert's room, and that in ordinary; but others say it falls, without controversy, to Sir Albertus Morton; Meawtys, the lord chancellor's secretary, is made a clerk of the council extraordinary, or in reversion. The Lord of Doncaster, we say, shall go ambassador this next month to the Palsgrave and princes of the union. The Lady Suffolk is sick of the smallpox, which would have done her more harm forty years ago, than they can do now.

Here be very strict orders and proclamation for keeping of Lent, with order to call into the Star Chamber such as shall eat flesh; which, as the case stands, being a court not to be dallied withal, makes us all get licences, wherein we follow the example of the lords of the council, even the lord chancellor himself, and the attorney-general, who had their licenses sealed with ours.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, February 24, 1618-9.

Mr. Brent (whom I thought we had lost) passed this way towards England about a month since. Tobie Matthew is at Bruxelles, in some hope, as I hear, by my lord chancellor's means, to be repatriated, before long, who causeth his chambers to be kept for him.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 6, 1618-9.

We have no good news to send this week, nor, in a manner, any at all, saving that this day sevennight we heard of the queen's dangerous sickness, and the Tuesday following of her decease, which was about four o'clock in the morning, being the 2nd of this month. The reports ran at first, that she had made a will (according to the privilege of our queens, who, as our lawyers say, have *potestatem testandi*, and may dispose of all they have, saving lands, or jewels, belonging to the crown), that she had written a letter, and set apart a casket of jewels for the Lady Elizabeth; that she made a very Christian confession, and excellent end. But, for aught I can learn, she made none other than a nuncupatory will, or by word of mouth, giving all she had to the prince, with charge to pay her debts, and reward her servants, &c. And having a grant upon cloths lately given to her, to the value of £8000 a-year, she was fain to have her hand led to the passing it over to the prince, being otherwise of no validity. As, likewise, the manner of her will was rather in answering questions, and saying yea to anything that was demanded of her, than in disposing aught of herself. So that it is doubted by some already how far it will stand good and firm, especially if it fall out that her moveables amount to better than £400,000, as is generally reported, and her debts not £40,000.

Upon Monday, all the lords and ladies almost about this town went to Hampton Court, but very few were admitted. She was earnestly moved by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Privy Seal, and the Bishop of London, to prepare herself, and set all things in order; but she could not be persuaded that her end was so near, and so would needs defer it till the next day, out of a superstition (as some think) because it was Childermas, or, as some call it, Dismal Day. About two o'clock the next morning, having nobody about her but her Danish Anna,[1] who, by commandment, had locked them all out, her sight failed her. Whereupon, the prince and the rest were called up to be

[1] A lady the queen had brought with her from Denmark.

present at her departing, and she had her speech to the last gasp. Upon her opening, she was found much wasted within, specially her liver, as it were quite consumed. Her corpse is to be brought this day to Denmark House by water, and so to be buried at Westminster, after Easter, the week before the term, with the same solemnity, and as much pomp, if it may be, as Queen Elizabeth.

The king continues still at Newmarket, and so, it is said, will do till the funeral be past. He had lately there a shrewd fit of the stone, which is the second alarm he hath had from that enemy. The lord chancellor was weakened, likewise, this week by the same disease, which held him in great pain two or three days.

I doubt not but you have heard how your sister Sedley mourns for her father-in-law, Sir William, who died the last week; and Sir William Coke, a near kinsman of the lord chancellor, of the smallpox. But Sir Arthur Lake and his wife lie sweating, they say, of another kind, it being yet in question, among friends of both sides, whether the lady had them by his gift, or by her own purchase. However it be, it seems some unlucky planet, worse than a comet, hangs over that house, whose influence is not yet at an end. For the chief justice, and attorney and solicitor, have been twice or thrice at the Tower this week, to examine them severally upon certain points, whereto they refuse to answer: wherein, how far they may run into a contempt, the Lady Shrewsbury's case may be to them a fair example. The Lady Roos hath set it down under her hand, that she will not answer. No doubt, she hath reason, if she can choose; for, if but the tenth part be true of that which is commonly reported, I have not heard of so forward an * * * *. And it was more than time that such a cockatrice should be crushed in the shell. Besides the £40,000 given the Lady of Exeter, for damages, there is £3400 more awarded for her costs, which is the manner of that court, upon making up accounts and reckonings.

The Lord Sheffield, in a doting humour, hath married a young Scottish wench, daughter of one Sir William

Urwin, that was a kind of dancing schoolmaster to Prince Henry.[1]

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

March 16, 1618-9.

Your last week's letters came so late into my hands, as left me no means of satisfying them as then. Sir Robert Cary undertakes the answer, who desires only to prolong your journey till Friday in Easter week; that by giving him possession, in the prince's name, of Killingworth, he may be enabled to keep a court, which otherwise he cannot do till Michaelmas.

News the present affords not any, more than what common fame may have haply conveyed to you already: as that the queen, at her death, bequeathed all she had, by a verbal testament, to the prince (a legacy of little less value than £600,000), if he might be suffered to enjoy it. But the king is impatient to hear of the notion, and means to seize upon all for himself.

My Lord Sheffield, upon Thursday fortnight last, married a fair young gentlewoman of some sixteen years of age, Sir William Irwin's daughter, and is (for the country's sake, I suppose) highly applauded by the king for his choice. And surely, if it be true, "Blessed is the wooing that is not long a doing," we must give him for a happy man, since less than three days concluded wooing, wedding, and bedding.

The last news from Spain is this, that all preparations for war are certainly laid aside for this year. In France, they are like to fall close to it; for the queen's faction is strong, and fortified by those that are most powerful in these parts, as the House of Guise, the Duke of Espernon, De Bouillon, Montmorency, La Forceac; and the king, on the contrary, is resolute, and his army commanded by the Prince of Piedmont, his brother-in-law.

I remember, when you were in Spain, I advertised you of a scandalous, libellous book, entitled *Balaam's Ass*,

[1] He was one of that prince's gentlemen ushers of the Privy Chamber.

that was let fall in the gallery at Whitehall, bearing a subscription to the king. One Cotton they suspected, and, upon presumption, committed to the Tower, where he hath lain ever since. Not many days ago, the true author was discovered in a strange fashion. A hungry pursuivant, wanting money, and desirous to put himself into some means by work, waited at the Spanish secretary's door, to see if he could light upon a prey. At length came forth one Williams, unknown to him, but carrying in his conceit the countenance of a priest. This man he follows, dogging him to his inn. Being there arrived, Williams calls for his horse; his horse was brought, and being mounted, the pursuivant comes to him and tells him, he must speak a word or two with him. "Marry, with all my heart," replied Williams: "what is your pleasure?"—"You must alight," quoth the other; "for you are a priest."—"A priest," says Williams; "I have a good warrant to the contrary; for I have wife and children." That would not serve the turn, but alight he must, and, upon his offer of spurring forward, was perforce stayed.

Being dismounted, the pursuivant told him, he must search him, to see what letters, or writings, or books, he had about him; and, though he made nice of it, got patience perforce. So in his pocket was found a bundle of papers, sealed up, which the pursuivant essaying to open, he made some resistance, telling him he should pardon him for that, for they were certain evidences of a gentleman, whose law businesses he negociated. But no whit availing by the shift, *Balaam's Ass*, with new annotations, was there discovered.

Being, thereupon, examined, his guilty conscience suffered him not to dissemble further, but he confessed himself the author; and so opened the prison doors to Cotton, that he might enter. Which story I have thus particularly related, that if you have perchance heard of the substance, you might at length hear from me the circumstance.

There was a bruit up and down London, that St. Mary Magdalen Bermondsie, in Southwark, a church much frequented, for that the minister, Mr. Eltam, is a man of

popular note, should have been blown up with gunpowder, there being like preparations as for the parliament, and from one church (*a fama crescit eundo*) it grew to be constantly affirmed of all. This latter, I am sure, is false, and the other, I conceive, but badly founded, yet have I filled up my paper with the common rumour.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, March 26, 1619.

The Bishop of Llandaff made a start to us this Easter. I begged a speech of him, which he made in the *sinode de perseverantiâ sanctorum*, whereof I had heard good report, and to my capacity it will satisfy the best judgments, of which you may make trial, by showing it to my Lord of Winchester. If you, in my name, visit the Archbishop of Spalato at the Savoy, and show him this speech likewise, you will do us both a pleasure.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 4, 1619.

The times offered no other news than the story of the king's sickness, which I leave to Mr. Roberts' relation, who can give you more particular satisfaction than my letter. His majesty was in a good degree of recovery; but this night we hear of a little relapse, which yet, they say, came from some disorder in diet; and so long, we hope, there will be no danger, for the cause being removed, the effect will follow.

Touching my treating for Killingworth heretofore in your behalf, I have forborne to renew it now, till I see which way my Lady Cary's resolution will sway, who, since the queen's death, hath entertained some thoughts of coming thither herself, and keeping house there altogether, in which case it would be to little purpose to press the point further; but if that alter (as, whatsoever she pretends, I think it probable she will), I hope to procure the assent for what hath already been promised.

Touching Mrs. Frances Ferrars, I find no intent now at

all of proceeding in that business, the grounds of which change I shall acquaint you withal hereafter. In the mean time, it troubles me not a little, that I should have engaged my noble friends so far to no purpose.

The Dean of Canterbury is dead, and Dr. Donne succeeds him.[1] The Bishop of Norwich[2] is not like to live long, being now very desperately sick, even unto the death.

The Lady Suffolk refused of late to give in her answer to the bill preferred against her in the Star Chamber, when the attorney-general threatened to grant an attachment against her; so fear has made her more pliable.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 12, 1619.

I am glad it fell so happily, that Mrs. Frances Ferrars was at Warwick when Sir Robert Cary there arrived, since Sir Henry seems to take good liking to her, which may put life into the notion; and my lady tells me she purposes, at her coming down to Killingworth at Whitsuntide, to renew the same, if then she continue free. But the main step of their proceeding before, was a hope they entertained, upon some friends' assurances, of matching their son into a great deal of wealth. It is a secret, and therefore I unfold it into your bosom, where I desire it may rest. Fame had persuaded, under pretence of a great deal of possibility, to attempt the winning of the Lady Craven's[3] daughter, whose portion is like to be from £20,000 to £30,000. Great friends were wrought, and the way made clear through all the kindred and stock to the mother's house; but she adores wealth so much, as she thinks her daughter cast away upon any that cannot bring double as many thousands as herself; and though here hath been much tampering in the matter, yet I think they reap such small comforts as will make them lay those thoughts aside,

[1] This is an error.
[2] Dr. John Overal. He died on the 12th of the following May.
[3] Elizabeth, widow of Sir William Craven, lord mayor in 1611. She died July 18, 1619.

and haply incline them to their former treaty, where they see their son conceives liking.

News the present affords little. The best you shall have first, which is such a good degree of his majesty's recovery; and yesterday the Bishop of London, in a very frequent assembly of all the council, judges, and most of the nobility here about London, made a solemn thanksgiving for it at Paul's Cross. The queen's funeral holds the 29th of this month, and is like to be solemnized with very great pomp and ceremony. All the council; most of the nobility, both lords and ladies; all the king's, queen's, and prince's household servants; the lord mayor and his brethren, are, by express summons, to be mourners; and the King of Denmark hath sent Sir Andrew Saintclear, in the quality of an ambassador, to represent his person. The epicedeum that is like to be sung upon the day of the funeral, I here send you enclosed.[1]

The arrival of the Conde de Gondomar is not like to be so speedy as was supposed; for though he was declared extraordinary ambassador for England, yet was he appointed to fetch a circuit by Germany, there first to condole the emperor's[2] death; but the news of the emperor's succeeding before he was out of Spain, and then that of our queen's death, order was given for his stay, that he might take further instructions, perhaps upon different resolutions.

The emperor's death is like to change the face of things in Germany. The voice is, that the palatine, who is vicar of the empire, so far as the imperial laws extend, and the Duke of Saxe, who exercises like jurisdiction where the Saxon law rules, have both joined together for the quieting of these intestine stirs, inhibiting all hostile proceedings on both parties, and commanding by proclamation Bucquoy

[1] "'Twas to invite this guest God sent the star,
Whose friends and nearest kin good princes are:
Who, though they run the race of men, and die,
It serves but to refine their majesty.
So did the queen her court from hence remove,
And put off earth to be enthroned above.
She then is changed, not dead; no good prince dies,
But, like this day's sun, only sinks to rise!"

[2] Matthias. He died on the 20th of March.

to withdraw his forces, and to quit the empire; enjoining the Bohemians the like ordinance in laying down arms.

On Thursday next, Mr. Wake enters upon his employment, in the quality of an agent to the palsgrave and princes of the union. My Lord of Doncaster's journey received a pause—some say through the king's sickness, some say through the emperor's death. Whether it shall hold or not is not certain, yet common voice is yes: and that he shall be made earl first.

From France I hear this accident. One Brett, an Englishman, happened to be slain in some quarrel by a Frenchman. Brett's countrymen and friends pursued the malefactor, by way of justice; whereupon certain Frenchmen (whether out of any relation they had to the offender, by way of friendship or alliance, or out of a spleen against the nation since these late differences) began, in a mutinous and seditious manner, to give out, that it was a good deed to cut all the Englishmen's throats in France; and animating one another in this sort, at last some sixty, they say (you may pardon Fame, if she a little augment), conspired together to take up their stations on Pont Neuf, there to make good what they had propounded upon any English that should pass. It pleased God the first day none came that way, only another Frenchman, inquiring of some one of his acquaintance among them the occasion of their assembling; and he freely imparting unto him, and inviting him to be of the plot, he utterly misliked it, and dissuaded earnestly from the enterprise, as that which was like enough, if they persisted, to bring them all to the neck-verse. But this good counsel had like to have drawn the quarrel upon himself, till with fair words he pacified them, swearing secrecy. Yet the night, it seems, brought better advice to the more moderate tempers, so on next day twenty only appeared, but never an Englishman all this while. Time brought yet more wisdom, for the next day there met but six, and these found matter to work upon, for an English gentleman passing by, attended by his servant, were both assailed. The gentleman cried out that surely they were mistaken; but perceiving they charged him with no other reply than blows, after they

both had retired themselves back to some wall, they there acquitted themselves so well, as, without any great hurt received, they wounded two of the six very sore; and some company coming in to part the fray, the other four presently withdrew themselves and escaped. The two French that were wounded were both seized upon, the English dismissed, and in this state he that wrote this intelligence left them.

On Monday last week, Sir Henry Mildmay married Alderman Holliday's daughter, and has received in free gift from his majesty, as they say, two manors worth £12,000, to make his estate somewhat proportionate to his wife's.

Two ambassadors are expected from France; one extraordinary to condole the queen's death, who, the bruit is, shall be Monsieur Le Grand; the other to be lieger. The troubles there are not pacified. Monsieur de Bethunes, who was sent to the queen to help to accommodate matters, is not returned.

I had almost finished my letter before I received yours. Sir Robert imparted nothing to me of his discourse with you; only told me of his good fortune in seeing your niece, and that he very well liked of her. My lady told me you had satisfied him further than ever I could, touching Sir John's estating of his land. Both pretend a purpose of renewing the suit; for their other grows cold, and within one week will discover to the full upon what weak ground they built. I would not wish any other good offer in the interim should be refused by Sir John. What I propounded was with a good intention to all that were interested on both parties. Within this fortnight at furthest, I suppose, I shall be able to give you a full resolution, and assured.

The contentment, I presume myself, would ensue on both sides by this match, by me first propounded, makes me wish it a good success; and I shall, with my best skill, endeavour it. But marriages are made in heaven.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, April 17, 1619.

The only subject of this present will be to let you know the issue of that treaty between the Hollanders and us, touching the trade of the East Indies, which proves to have no effect at all. The grounds of the difference the enclosed will sufficiently inform you of, which the commissioners of the States refusing to condescend into, the parley is broken off. To-morrow, the East India Company feast them, and then personally they will dispose themselves to take their leave and depart. Some are of opinion that they intend to leave in their agent's hands somewhat of a more satisfactory answer than by word of mouth they have given, which was an absolute refusal. But that is but a conjecture.

His majesty sets forward to-morrow from Royston to Ware, and, for his better ease, is to be carried all the way by his guard in a chair. At Ware, he intends to rest two nights, and then to come to Theobalds, where he means to stay until he be perfectly recovered.

The queen's funeral is like to be deferred for want of money to buy the blacks (for Sir Lionel Cranfield saith he will not take them up upon credit), till the end of May. But, whilst he is thus provident in forecasting the best way for the king's profit, in buying the cloaks at best hand, some think he casts up ill the expense his majesty is like to be at in the interim, of maintaining the queen's household, which wants nothing of its full allowances till the funeral be celebrated. An extraordinary ambassador is newly arrived from the archduke, to condole, as is supposed, the queen's death, though it may have a further reference to the affairs of Germany.

My Lord Digby is wonderfully confident of the match with Spain, and, it should appear, the stream of the court sways now to that conceit; for he is of late much courted, and that by many great ones, of the use they suppose they may have of him. And his majesty expresses himself with large demonstrations of favour towards him.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, April 19, 1619.

I have received your letter, by way of Zealand, of the 27th of the last, which came to my hands at the very instant when I had express letters, by an extraordinary, of the king's sickness and recovery, of which we heard in these parts both at once; only a flying report was spread by the archduke's side, that he was in great danger, and some said he was dead; which we believed here, spoken as they would have it, and therefore gave small credit unto it. But, it appears, the fear was great at home; and that which is familiar with poor men is strange with princes; else vomiting and looseness, which are the common symptoms of the stone, would not be so much spoken of; and if the disease, being now known, it may breed with his majesty's better *règlement* in diet (which, having tried all, I find to be the best remedy), this will serve like *plaga salutis* for his health this many a day, which, I assure you, is as much prayed for here as it can be with you, as well in regard of scarcity of princes in Europe at this present, which are powerful and masters of themselves, as for the particular protection this State hath lately found of his majesty.

We draw now to a period of our great businesses of the Synod and the prisoners, both which will concur with the word, *sero sed serio;* and I shall be very glad, in many respects, the world were once rid of expectation in these regards. We had last week a solemn fast for the good success of both, which was commanded by letters from the States-general, serving in a place of a manifest concerning the prisoners, with commandment to have them read in all the churches. In Rotterdam and Leyden, some ministers refused to read them, for which they were put out of their charges; and a country minister betwixt Leyden and Haarlem sped somewhat worse, being brought prisoner to this town, and laid in the common gaol for reading the letters; but praying his audience, when he had done, to believe never a word of them. The States' order for this fast was signified to the prisoners severally, without reading the letters to them; but with demand whether they would

celebrate the same, to which they all answered, every man prohibiting part of his diet; and I have it by good information, that they, having no correspondence or intelligence one with another, yet every one of them, with his keeper and servant, sang the seventh psalm.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

April 26, 1619.

Since my last, the commissioners from Holland are all departed, excepting those only of the States who were joined with them, who stay, it seems, to receive some further resolutions from the rest of the body, before they take their leave of the king.

My Lord of Doncaster had his farewell given him at Theobalds upon Saturday last, and is either this day or to-morrow to set forward on his voyage to the States of Bohemia, to whom, since the emperor's death, his embassy is principally addressed, though he receives commandments to divers other princes upon the Rhine likewise.

The archduke's ambassador had audience of the king on Sunday, at Theobalds; the substance of whose errand, some say, is only to compliment and condole the queen's death; others report that his commission extends further, and looks to the empire. But that must appear hereafter; for hitherto no such thing has been mentioned. The King of Denmark's ambassador had audience the same day likewise, whereby you may make judgment of the good state of health his majesty has recovered again into, thus to be able to entertain visits from ambassadors. The funeral is deferred till the 13th of this next month, which is Thursday before Whitsuntide, and when, without fail, it shall be solemnized.

The last week, all such as had received letters out of Spain were, by particular summonses, commanded to bring the same to the council-table, there to be perused. I cannot understand the true cause; but I conjecture it may be to discover, by the several advertisements from all parts, whether the King of Spain resumes again his former

designs of raising forces now, upon the fresh news of the emperor's death.

There is a voice, that my Lord North sets forth four ships; at least he and his partners at their proper cost, for Guinea; and that Sir John North shall be admiral. I am not able to assure it.

Sir Robert Cary's resolution for his son hangs yet in suspense. He is now at court. At his return, I mean to deal with him and his lady in it, and accordingly inform you; but, in the interim, if any good fortune be offered for your niece, I wish not it should be longer neglected, because I cannot find here any certain grounds whereon to build; though I persuaded myself if Sir Henry had his own choice, he would pitch it there were I propounded.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 4, 1619.

Sir Henry Cary hath had some speech with me touching Mrs. Ferrars, by way of communication, and intimated a dislike of the notion, that is presented; but Sir Robert and my lady can have no answer till they receive a flat denial here. So that I would not wish any good offer for your niece should be refused, in hope of this, in regard of the uncertainty. Though, if she continue free till my lady come to Killingworth, which will be the next month, I suppose, Sir Henry will be forward enough to renew the suit; and his mother, in that case, promises to treat further in it, if she cannot find sure footing here in the interim.

The last week, there met the king in Theobalds Park a gentlemanlike fellow, one that had been a soldier, and exercised some command in the wars, who saluted his majesty with a "Stand, O king! I have a message to deliver from God!" His pretended message was this in effect:—"Thus saith the Lord, have I not brought thee out of a land of famine and danger into a land of plenty and abundance? Oughtest thou not therefore to have judged my people with righteous judgment? But thou hast perverted justice and not relieved the oppressed. Therefore, unless thou

repent, God hath sent the kingdom from thee *and thy posterity after thee.*"[1]

The knight marshal was commanded to take charge of him, who committed him to the porter's lodge. Being there, the Bishop of Durham came to expostulate with him the reason of his impudent address, who alleged in his defence, that he was moved thereto by the Spirit of God. The bishop demanding in what form the Spirit appeared to him, he answered in the form and shape of the Bishop Winchester. He then questioned him of his religion; whose answer was, he might be sure he was no Puritan, for then the Spirit would not have appeared to him in the habit of a bishop. Being asked of what order of prophets he was, (for he stiled himself the prophet of the Most High) he said he was of the order of Melchi Sadack. That speech first discovered a crazy brain, the former savouring more of blind zeal or malice, than of distraction or weakness. He was thence sent to the lord chief justice, who soon found out his prophetical spirit to be a spirit of phrenzy and madness, and so sent him to Bedlam, where he now is.

Upon Saturday, the Marquis de Treueil,[2] lately ambassador at Rome, arrived here in quality of ambassador extraordinary, accompanied with four others of his own rank; two counts, and seven barons: which make a great noise here to them that understand not the quality of the French nobility. The Earl of Essex was sent to meet him. On Sunday, the Marquis of Buckingham came purposely to London to entertain him. Yesterday, he had audience of the king at Theobalds, and was royally feasted and banquetted. But further I have not inquired.

Upon Friday, my Lord of Southampton was sworn of the privy council.

Yesterday, being Monday, Williams, the author of "Balaam's Ass," was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The same day, the Lady Letitia Lake, Sir Arthur Lake's

[1] "I doubt whether this, though uttered by a madman, is fit to be communicated, therefore I have added this caution in the margin."—*Note by Mr Lorkin.* If the man was not a prophet, his assumption of the character was singularly perfect.—*Editor.*

[2] Tremouille.

wife, died in childbed. My Lord Hay began not his journey till then.

A voice goes of joining my Lord of London,[1] and some one other, as assessors with my lord chancellor,[2] against whom some complaints seem to have been framed; and such an overture may have been made *in terrorem*, for the better assuring the course of justice. But I believe not half which is bruited.

His majesty is perfectly recovered save in his legs, wherein he finds such a debility as he is always fain to be carried; and some fear he will from henceforth be enforced to a sedentary life. This week he removes to Greenwich, where they say he means to celebrate St. George's feast; but I think the funeral shall first be despatched, which holds for certain upon Thursday come fortnight.

Sir Thomas Grantham is now here in London.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 5, 1619.

Finding Mr. Bennock still in town, who I made account had been departed this morning, I thought fit to add this word more, to let you understand how this day Williams was executed at Charing Cross, according to the sentence in my other letter specified. His prophecy deserved no less, which was that this lord chief justice should usher the king to his grave, as had his father done (but the false spirit mistook; it was his grandfather) King Henry the Eighth, and that Whitehall should be desolate, and be covered with grass, that so there might be store of feeding for his ass, and all this before the 7th of September, 1621.

The proposition touching my lord chancellor was most true; and Sir Randolph Crew was the second assessor nominated. But by my Lord of Buckingham's means he hath avoided the blow, and secured himself for the present, at least.

His majesty hath (upon the prince's suit, you must know) granted my Lord of Buckingham twelve hundred

[1] Dr. John King, who died March 30, 1621. [2] Bacon.

pounds a-year of land, that was the queen's, raised out of two very good manors, which he is to hold in fee-farm: and to requite the largess, my Lord of Buckingham hath obtained of the king the addition of five thousand pounds a-year to the prince's former allowance. A fair exchange!

That my Lord of Nottingham may not lose the rank he was wont to hold, now at the funeral his majesty is pleased to confer upon him the title of constable of England, (so saith my Lady Cary) but I suppose rather lord high steward.

Myself am like to pass the seas once again ere long, so I am born, it seems, to a rolling, restless life; being to accompany Mr. Cary to the Spa, thence to Heidelberg, and afterwards, by his desire, into France, where his stay is uncertain. I scarce now hope for quiet till I find it in my grave, where I could willingly lay down myself, if I had once satisfied the world.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 8, 1619.

The last time I wrote, we were in expectation that Sir Lionel Cranfield should have been a councillor, at least, and all the next day it run for current, that the Bishop of London and Sir Humphrey May should have been co-partners, and sworn with him. But they came home all as they went; and the lot fell, the Friday after, on the Earl of Southampton, who was sworn at the Star Chamber, when he seemed least to look for it.

The king continues yet at Theobalds, but meant to have been here yesternight, and to have gone this day to Greenwich. But now, I hear, his coming hither is put off till Tuesday, being to go down the River Lee in his barge, and perhaps may be persuaded not to pass Greenwich till the queen's funeral, which holds on Thursday next, the 13th of this month, they being in hand to rail the streets already. He goes daily *megliorandi* in his health and stomach; *mais les jambes lui faillent.*

They have been once or twice troubled at Theobalds

with odd fellows, that, watching the king's going abroad, have brought him messages and admonitions from God. One was a pretty young fellow, that had been secretary to Lord Willoughby,[1] in Denmark. His name is Weekes. But for his labour he is sent to Bedlam, and there remains, though divers that have been to see him can perceive no spice of madness in his ordinary speech and conversation. But Williams, that wrote the libel of *Balaam's Ass*, and the commentary upon it, to the king, could not scape so good cheap; for he was arraigned on Monday last, at the King's Bench, and on Monday hanged, drawn, and quartered, over against the mews at Charing Cross.[2] He died a Roman Catholic, and otherwise boldly and confidently enough: yet he prayed for the king and prince, and said he was sorry he had written so saucily and unreverently, but pretended he had an inward warrant and particular illumination, to understand certain hard passages of Daniel, and the Revelations, which made him adventure so far.

The Lady Roos was this week with the king, to whom, they say, she hath discovered *la porte aux roses*, and laid open the whole platform of their villany. And, though it seems both she and Sarah Swarton, the maid, had done what they can to colour and excuse Sir Thomas Lake, yet, since this confession, he is restrained more than he was, and his brother, the bishop, who hath taken a house upon Tower Hill, is forbidden to come at him; which is suspected to be for tampering with the Lady Roos, to keep her in tune. Indeed, I know that both he and other friends complained of her courses and manner of carriage, before she went to the king, as fearing she would mar all, because she would not confer, or be advised. Sir Arthur Lake hath buried his lady with scandal enough, which, among the rest, is not the last *crève-cœur* to the father, to see the fruits of so graceless a generation.

On Monday, the Marquis of Tremouille, the French am-

[1] Of Eresby.

[2] These barbarous punishments became the certain fate of all who ventured to make a reflection derogatory to the British Solomon, who, there can be very little question, much more deserved them than his victims.

bassador, went to Theobalds, with almost three score coaches of four horses, and had a great dinner and banquet, and after went to his audience, which was reasonably long. The king used him very graciously, and so he came home as he went, accompanied by both the Marquis Buckingham and Hamilton, that came to town overnight, to fetch him, with much other nobility and courtiers. If he had been a greater man, he could not have had more honour: but we are so glad and fain of this redintegration, that we think nothing too much. Yet, for all this kindness, the king gives him leave to lie at his own charge, saying, that he will now begin to give an example to other princes to do the like.

The Lord of Doncaster went hence on Tuesday, but waits ever since, either at Canterbury, or Margate, for the wind. His lady suspecting as much, after long [embracing] and leave-taking, in a kind manner, met him again at Gravesend, and will not [part with] him till he go to sea.

This week, three bishops were invested; Dr. Bridgeman, to Chester; Dr. Thomson, to Oxford; and Dr. Searchfield, to Bristol.

The Virginian Company have displaced Sir Thomas Smith, and made Sir Edwin Sandys their governor. But the matter is little amended, when the next court, or meeting, they confirmed Sir Thomas Smith in his presidentship of the Bermudas, or Summer Islands; for I could hardly tell how to resolve, if it were put to my choice.

We heard here, on Thursday, of Barnevelt's defeat,[1] by some that were eyewitnesses: but there were few or no letters come of any particulars. They gave out, likewise, that there was execution to be done on some others, the next day.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 11, 1619.

Upon Thursday last, a fearful fire seized upon Cambridge, and burnt up three score dwelling-houses together,

[1] His execution had taken place on the 3rd of the current month.

situated between Jesus and Sidney Colleges, which were endangered by them likewise.

Sir Arthur Lake is committed, I hear, upon further discovery in the old business; and Parker (I take it is the examiner), for receiving men's examinations in favour of Sir Thomas Lake, without tendering them their oaths, &c. And so are sundry others; so that that side hath not yet seen their worst.

A courier is newly arrived from Spain, and brings news of delay, the Conde de Gondomar being not to set forward till June or July; which troubles some here, and abates the cheerfulness of their countenances to no good presage.

The king cannot yet recover the use of his legs, which makes his remove from Theobalds doubtful; though it is supposed he will some time this week to Greenwich.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 14, 1619.

It were to no purpose to make any long description of the funeral,[1] which was but a drawling, tedious sight, more remarkable for number than for any other singularity, there being 280 poor women, besides an army of men fellows, that were servants to the lords, and others of the train. And, though the number of lords and ladies was very great, yet methought, altogether, they made but a poor show; which, perhaps, was, because they were apparelled all alike, or that they came loggering all along, even tired with the length of the way and the weight of their cloaks, every lady having twelve yards of broad cloth about her, and the countesses sixteen.

The Countess of Arundel was chief mourner (but whether in her own right, or as supplying the place of the Lady Elizabeth, I know not), being supported by the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis Hamilton; as, likewise, the rest had some to lean on; or else I see not how they had been able to hold out. The prince came after the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was to make the sermon, and next before the corpse, that was drawn by six horses. It was

[1] Of Anne of Denmark. It took place on May 13.

full six o'clock at night before all the solemnity was done at church, where the hearse is to continue till the next term, the fairest and stateliest that I think was ever seen there.

This business passed not without some disaster, as is commonly seen in such assemblies; a young man being killed outright, by the falling of a stone from Northampton[1] House, which was one of the letters S that serve for the battlements, and thrust out by mischance and carelessness of those above. Some say, he was a proper young scholar of Oxford; others give out, he was a gentleman of very good means.

The king came to Greenwich on Tuesday, and the next morning the queen's trunks, and cabinets with jewels, were brought thither, from Denmark House, in four carts, and delivered by inventory by Sir Edward Coke and auditor Geston. The king perused them all, and bestowed some reasonable portion on the Lord of Buckingham. Besides, he hath the keeping of Denmark House, and another gift beyond all this, of £1200 land, of the king's, for his good service and care of the king in his last sickness. And it is said that, excepting castles and honours, he may make his choice of this sum where he thinks fit.

The Earl of Suffolk's cause and his lady's was called upon this term in the Star Chamber; and though, to win time, as should seem, they pleaded that they had divers witnesses to be examined for their clearing, that were absent far off, and some in Ireland, yet it would not be accepted, but thought to be only matter of delay; and therefore they had a commission granted them to send for them thither, or to take their examinations there, always provided, that it be done before the end of next term; for the king will have the matter protracted no longer.

The information against certain strangers for exportation of gold was likewise treated of there; and forty of them put into one bill, charged with conveyance of £300,000 in gold, at least, upon good proof, since the king's coming to the crown. How the matter will fall out, God knows;

[1] Now Northumberland House, Charing Cross.

but I doubt it will hinder the king and realm as much in customs and traffic, besides other reasons.

I hear the Lady Roos was confronted, on Saturday last, with her mother, by the two lord chief justices, to make good her confessions and discoveries. How far matters passed, I know not; save only that she answered, in Pilate's terms, *Quod scripsi scripsi*, and that all was true that she had set down to the king, under her hand.

Sir Arthur Lake was committed to the Tower; but, within three or four days, removed to the King's Bench, where he remains, for perjury, or subornation of perjury. And Harry Parker, deputy clerk of the Star Chamber, was in the Marshalsea awhile, being charged by the Lady Roos, that, for money, he had forborne to swear her, when she was examined. How he hath cleared himself, I know not, but he is abroad again.

I had forgot that Sir William Barnes died this day se'nnight, at Woolwich; and, I hear, his son Robin should be lately dead in France.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 18, 1619.

There is a courier newly arrived from Spain that brings news that Don Diego will infallibly be here within this week, if the winds hinder not his passage, which, for better expedition, he intends altogether by sea. This has occasioned a fresh summons to my Lord Digby to prepare himself for his employment; within this fortnight his majesty purposes to declare him ambassador. Mr. Stone is to be despatched away presently, who, going to enter upon his new employment of consulship at Lisbon, is to take Madrid in his way, and there to fit and order things for my lord's coming.

Sir Henry Wotton hath left Venice, and is qualified as ambassador extraordinary to the Princes of the Union in Germany. His instructions have been sent him, and I hear he is to meet my Lord Hay at Heidelberg, and to treat both in a joint commission.

Upon Thursday last, the funeral was solemnized, which

was fatal to a young gentleman and a scholar, one Applegard, of Lynne, who, placing himself upon a scaffold under Northampton House, one of the lintels of the battlements, by the weight of some that, standing upon the leads, leaned over to see, fell upon his head, and struck him stone dead. He was presently removed thence to St. Martin's churchyard, where divers flocking to see him, amongst the rest a scrivener's wife beheld the sad spectacle, and was so deeply affected by it, that, returning home to her house, she immediately died.

Sir Thomas Somerset desired me to commend his love unto you, but withal to intimate a quarrel he hath against you, that, being your neighbour, not above thirty miles distant, he can never be beholden to you neither for letter nor message. He threatens, sith you will not come nor send to see him, to make a visit over unto you, and bade me write as much.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 24, 1619.

This day se'nnight, the States' commissioners and our East India Company's met before the king in the gallery at Greenwich, the one standing at the one end of the gallery and the other at the other, his majesty interposing himself between them for the accommodating of the difference, not without probability of accord, his majesty being inclined to overrule his own people, to cause them to accept of such conditions as otherwise they would refuse, and the States yielding in some particulars likewise.

Sir Thomas Lake's business, they say, is like to grow to a far worse pass than the terms it stands in. I have heretofore signified the imprisonment of both his sons, whereof the younger hath his own sister, Lady Roos, for his accuser. The second sister is confined to a house in Tower Hill. Will Lake, his secretary, is a close prisoner in the State House, and is liable to a foul suspicion by means of a letter of his, which, some say, hath been intercepted and sent unto the king, to this effect, impressing upon one that was sent by Sir Thomas Lake to my Lord Roos, that he should

be mindful of his errand, advertising him that Sir Thomas's adversaries grew patient, and therefore encouraging him speedily to despatch that what he had undertook, assuring the performance of whatsoever had been promised. This letter brings into men's remembrance the practice upon Sir Thomas Overbury; but this is not yet public, and therefore I impart it as a secret.

I signified his majesty's intention to declare my Lord Digby extraordinary ambassador very shortly. The king is pleased to put him into the means for that employment, by granting him the making of some baron, or other suit that he shall find out, and this is private likewise.

The Earl of Suffolk's cause shall be heard this term. After sentence, it is thought his majesty will create a new treasurer, and that my Lord Pembroke shall be the man, to make room for my Lord Lisle; who, they say, is in election to succeed him in the place he now executeth.

My Lord of Oxford[1] bears now his white staff, and shall have a table in court, as have had his ancestors, re-exercising his office of lord high chamberlain of England. There is a speech of his marriage, but the voice is divided: some say with my Lady Wroth, others say with Mrs. Diana Cecil.[2]

On Wednesday is St. George's feast kept, when there is likely to a great creation; I mean, not of knights of the order, but of hereditary titles. The Marquis of Hamilton shall be made Earl of Cambridge; my Lord Aubigny,[3] Earl of Glo'ster; Sir John Villiers, Viscount of Purbeck (an island in Dorsetshire, where the best part of his wife's land lies, the whole island being hers), and shall have assured upon him by my Lady Hatton and my Lady Lake £7000 land a-year; to induce the said Lady Hatton thereunto, she shall be honoured with a title likewise, Countess of Westmoreland. And to let you see how good fortune runs in a blood, Mr. Christopher Villiers shall be married to Alderman Harvey's only daughter: the match

[1] Henry Vere, eighteenth earl. He died in 1625.

[2] Second daughter of William Cecil, Earl of Exeter. She became Countess of Oxford.

[3] Esmo Stuart, third Duke of Lennox. He was created Baron Clifton and Earl of March.

being concluded, though so much against the old man's stomach, as the conceit thereof hath brought him very near his grave already, if, at least, the world mistake not the true cause of his sickness.

I will conclude my letter with a jig, for I think you will esteem it little better, that Endymion Porter, that waits upon my Lord of Buckingham, shall (if general voice deceive not), set my Lady Roos at liberty, and enjoy her for his wife. I heard of it above a fortnight since, but gave no credit to it, but now it is confidently assured.

I send herewith a letter of Sir Robert Cary's, which he sent from Greenwich; he acquainted me not with the contents, but I imagine it may, at least, touch upon the old business, wherein my wishes are better, I fear me, than will be the success; but your wisdom knows how to manage these things.

The 29th of August, the king appoints to be at Warwick, which makes my Lady Somerset doubtful of her journey to Killingworth.

Herriot, the jeweller, hath taken his oath, that he delivered unto the queen £63,000 worth of jewels, whereof he keeps the models, which yet appear not. She was supposed likewise to have a great treasure of ready money, but not a penny found. Upon these two a great suspicion is grounded of Piero, who, you know, was her creature and favourite. His carriage, in some particulars, since the queen's death, augments the jealousy. He hath gone under guard a long time. Now he is committed to one Justice Dubbledie's house, by express command from the king.

The Bishop of Llandaff[1] shall be advanced higher, to be Bishop of Chichester; Chichester[2] to Norwich; and Dr. Field[3] (Field, the player's brother), shall succeed Llandaff.

Upon Tuesday last, my Lady Bedford went to Dover, thinking to meet my Lady Harrington,[4] but there met with news of a dangerous sickness whereunto she has fallen beyond the seas, I think at Calais, whither my Lady Bedford hath gone over to her. I pray God comfort her.

[1] Dr. George Carleton. [2] Dr. Samuel Harstrel. [3] Theophilus Field.
[4] Her mother.

Mr. Abraham Williams to James Hay, Lord Viscount Doncaster.[1]

London, May 28, 1619.

The French ambassador went away sooner than was expected, but with very good content, and the States' ambassadors are ready to take their leaves. They were supped and caressed in the council chamber at Greenwich, on Wednesday, the 26th, on which day St. George's feast was kept there, without any show, according to custom; yet our mourning is now almost left off. We speak much of earls and barons to be made, whereof in my next I shall be able to write certainty. His majesty, who, together with the prince, is, God be thanked, in very good health, went this morning from Greenwich to Theobalds, and will be the 6th day of the next month at London.

My Lady Harrington is expected here this very night.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, May 31, 1619.

This day his majesty makes a solemn entry into London, coming in by Gray's Inn, where my lord mayor, aldermen, and ten of each company, meet him on horseback, and so bring him along down Chancery Lane, and through all the Strand, to Whitehall, which is done by way of congratulation for his recovery. The lords and gallants of the court come mounted upon great horses, in the best equipage they may.

The differences between the Hollanders and us are accommodated in substance, upon these conditions:—Our men are to hold that one fort they already have in Banda, without any molestation; shall be permitted to build themselves one or two more, but not to impatronise themselves of any that are now built. In all spices, are to have the offer of one half, save in the Moluccas, where they shall have allowed them but a third. Neither is the Hollander to lade any till the English have had the offer, and a little commodity of time for shipping. Some add, that the suit of transportation of coin is now compounded, and

[1] At this time ambassador extraordinary in Germany.

the Dutch are to give, by way of capitulation, to the king £100,000; but I doubt of the sum. I rather think it a largess fee, if there be any such thing.

The new honours my last letter mentioned are not yet divided. My Lady Hatton seems to be the only cause or occasion of delay, who refuses to make an assurance of land she formerly pretended to come into. But very shortly we look for the accomplishment, with this addition, that Sir Thomas Wentworth,[1] my Lord Clifford's father-in-law, is like to be made a baron, by my Lord Digby's procurement, who thereby shall put himself into means for his embassy.

Will Lake is set at liberty, having acquitted himself from the aspersions cast upon him. All the rest remain in their former terms. The Earl of Suffolk's cause is like to be heard this week. Sir Edward Coke and Sir Fulk Greville had like to have received a dodge in this business; for being both hitherto employed as commissioners to inquire out his offence, and being to sit among the rest as judges to censure it, they were both (by what means and by whose procurement I know not) served with writs, to be examined against them as witnesses, and so, besides the disgrace otherwise, like to lose the benefit of their voice and suffrage. But Sir Edward Coke, finding good access to the king, by occasion of Sir George Villiers's business, represented to his majesty the good services they had done in this business, and the disparagement they should receive if this was suffered, desiring to know his majesty's pleasure; who answered, it was no appointment of his, neither was it his will and meaning. Whereupon my Lord Coke gave present notice to Sir Fulk Greville, with whom the examinator was then entering upon his interrogatories, and avoided him that prejudice.

Upon the censure of my Lord of Suffolk's cause, it is supposed that my Lord Walden must quit the place of captain of the pensioners, to accommodate my Lord of Southampton withal; who, unless he have some further employment to entice him to the court, notwithstanding

[1] He was not made a baron till the following reign.

his being sworn privy councillor, seems to prefer a country life.

Extract of a Letter from ———.[1]

London, June 3, 1619.

Our tedious and thorny treaty with the States is at length, God be thanked, brought to a conclusion; though not so advantageous to the English company as they would have had it, yet such as may both salve their honour, and secure and augment their profits in those parts. Forts they shall have none, but that only one which they hold at this present; that question, to wit, for liberty of building them, being put off, and suspended for the time of three years; at the end thereof it is to be resumed, and accommodated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The pepper, in the isle of Java Major, shall be equally divided between the two companies; which article our men had much to do to get granted them. In the isles of the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboyne, where they had nothing, they shall have a third part of the trade; in consideration thereof, they are to bear half the charges for the common defences, for the which there will be twenty ships, of six or seven hundred tons a-piece, entertained by both the companies. These are the chiefest articles. The treaty is made for twenty years. When I have gotten a copy of it for myself, you shall be made partaker thereof.

Yesterday, the copies thereof were interchangeably delivered by the commissioners; and those of Holland did particularly send them away to their masters, to procure the coming over back again of their merchant commissioners, for the approving and signing of the same, and they make account that they will be here within ten or twelve days. The blessedness of this good work, under God, is to be attributed to the king alone; for, had he not overruled the stiffness of our merchant's dispositions, it had never been effected.

My Lord Houghton[2] is brought into the Star Chamber,

[1] Neither the name of the writer nor of his correspondent has been preserved.

[2] John Holles, knt., created Baron Houghton, of Houghton, in the county of Nottingham, July 9, 1616; and Earl of Clare, November 2, 1624.

first, for the breaking an order set down by the committee of the Lords, between him and Sir Edward Coke, about calling in question the authority of the said committee.

Much ado there is to procure a marriage between Mr. Christopher Villiers and my lord mayor's[1] daughter and heir, who, it is reported, shall be worth no less than £200,000; at which solicitation the lord mayor hath taken such a gripe, as he is thereupon fallen sick.

There are, as yet, no new creations made.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 5, 1619.

The king came from Theobalds, on Tuesday, to Whitehall, all along the fields; and, on the back side of Gray's Inn, was met by a fair troop of our citizens on horseback, with their chains of gold, or pearl, or diamonds; and the aldermen in scarlet. The recorder made a short speech in congratulation of his recovery, and excuse of the lord mayor's absence; whereto the king gave no great heed, making little show of being pleased, as being given to understand that he is more sullen than sick, which, in very truth, is otherwise, for he continues still in weak estate. The king was attended by the prince, and all the nobility, in very good equipage; himself very fresh in a suit of watchet satin, laid with silver lace, with a blue and white feather; as also his horse was furnished with the like, both before and behind. Insomuch that all the company was glad to see him so gallant, and more like a wooer than a mourner. But what decorum it will be when ambassadors come to condole (as here is one now from the Duke of Lorraine, with three or four and twenty followers, all in black), let them consider whom it more concerns.

The lord chancellor waited his coming in the presence at Whitehall, attended by the whole choir, as he termed it, of judges and lawyers. The king was gone early the next morning a-hunting, and that night to Greenwich; so that it seems his early coming hither was to receive these applauses and gratulations. He makes account to

[1] Christopher Villiers married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Sheldon, Esq., of Honby, Leicestershire.—Burke's "Extinct Peerage."

continue at Greenwich, Theobalds, Wanstead, Havering, and hereabouts, till the 18th of July; that he begins his progress northward as far as Rufford, Nottingham, Derby, and so by Warwick, and Sir William Pope's, to Woodstock, Rycot, Bisham, and Windsor. He is much importuned with petitions and suits of all sorts. Among the rest, he hath granted a penny upon a ton of all that shall be exported or imported into the realm, for the maintenance [of forts] at the Land's End, and in certain places on the sea coast; as likewise four-pence halfpenny upon every chaldron of sea coal, to see they may be better garbled or cleansed, as is pretended; as also eight pence upon every pound of tobacco, upon like pretence. And there was a suit offered, but rejected, that none under the degree of nobility should keep a coach without licence.

The lord chancellor hath a grant lately made of £1200 a-year during his life, and seven or ten years after, out of the office of alienations. But *à quelles enseignes* he hath it, I cannot tell; though some say it is for somewhat of like value he is to part withal, out of the seal, to the Lady Hume. I hear he hath lately committed one Shingleton, an Oxford man; who, preaching in Paul's on May-day, and finding himself aggrieved with some decree of his, wherein he thought he had hard measure, declaimed bitterly against his court, and glanced, they say, scandalously at him, and his Latinities, as he called them.

The Lady Hatton, as I hear, will not be won to part with Purbeck; so that Sir John Villiers is to be Viscount Beaumont.

Sir Edward Coke hath preferred a bill in the Star Chamber against the Lord Holles, but upon what points I cannot yet tell; only, on Wednesday last, the Lords' demurs and exceptions to the bill were excluded and rejected as frivolous.

The Lord of Suffolk and his friends labour, by all means, to compound his own cause, and, I hear, they be in a fair way; wherein he is well advised (if he can compass it) to redeem himself, *quam quoad minimo*.

The strangers in question for transportation of bullion are likewise said to be upon composition.

I send you herewith the article, so long and so much controverted 'twixt our East Indian commissioners and the States (it is of my man's writing, and so I know not how you will pick it out), as likewise the petition upon it to the king. But, say what they can, things are passed as the others would have it; which makes the world suspect that they have found great friends, and made much use of their wicked mammon. Our men shall never have like means and advantages to bring them to reason as they had now, both in regard that we are sought to combine either with the Portugal, French, or Dane; as also, and that specially, that our merchants were generally animated, and thoroughly resolved to set up their whole rest upon it; which was never so great, nor, perhaps, will easily be again, now the opportunity is lost, and the heat cooled.

I met last day with your nephew, Carleton, who told me he was to write to you, much about this time, concerning a lease of the deanery of Windsor, wherein you shall be much importuned to leave your hold. He doubts whether his father will come to town this term. Dr. Ward[1] speaks much honour of you and your lady, and professes a great deal of obligation to you both.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to Sir Thomas Puckering, Bart.

London, June 8, 1619.

We set not forward till to-morrow, which gives me liberty to write these few lines now, though it be only to let you know that my Lady Hatton cannot be induced to settle her land upon Sir John Villiers, unless it be with promise to revoke it, if she please; which troubles all the comedy, and makes an alteration in her son-in-law's title, who, instead of Viscount Purbeck, shall now be made Viscount Beaumont. They are troubled no less to accommodate herself with honour to her mind; for she insists upon it, that she will either be Countess of Westmoreland, in that rank which that family anciently held, or else she will not be at all. And herein most of our great ladies

[1] Samuel Ward, D. D., master of Sydney College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton. He had been sent to the Synod of Dort.

are opposites, out of the interest of their own place; and my Lord Abergavenny hath delivered a petition against the name, that that title may not be conferred on her at all, as being a wrong to the pretensions he makes thereunto. You will shortly see an issue of these things, before the king begin his progress, the gists whereof I have here sent you enclosed.

The queen, in her life-time, had got two suits of the king, the one being an imposition upon white cloths transported, which was little less worth to her than £10,000 a-year; the other, a charge upon sugar, amounting to the yearly sum of £3000. My Lord of Hamilton hath gotten £8000 a-year out of the first grant (for what turn I know not); and Sir George Goring hath his choice, whether he will have the £3000 out of the sugars entire thirteen years together, or £2000 out of them for twenty-one years. If you inquire into the merits, he is a noble gentleman, one whom the Marquis favours.

This day, I think, the Lorraine ambassador is supped, where I will leave them at their good cheer.

Mr. Abraham Williams to the Earl of Doncaster.

London, June 18, 1619.

Mr. Killigrew went so lately from us that he carried away all our letters and news. The king and prince are in very good health. My Lady Bedford is sometimes well, sometimes ill, but past all danger, as it is hoped.

The business of the merchant strangers has held these eight days with the Star Chamber; and this morning it is put off till the first day of next term. To-morrow, my Lady Lake and my Lady Roos are to come to the Star Chamber, and openly to acknowledge their faults.

The ambassadors of Denmark went away about three days since, and, having received their letters, would not stay for their present, which is, or will be, sent after them to Gravesend.

The States' ambassadors are not yet gone. News there is come that the States have met with the King of Spain's ships in the Indies, about the islands called the Manillas,

and have taken from them great riches, to the value, it is said, of eight millions. The certainty, and the particulars thereof, we shall better know hereafter.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 26, 1619.

If I had nothing to write, yet so good a friend as this gentleman, Mr. Wingfield,[1] must not come empty-handed; not that he needs any recommendation, being so well known unto you, nor having any other errand thither than to entertain himself this vacation in accompanying Colonel Cecil, his kinsman. And because he is one of our new principal verbs in Paul's, and well acquainted with all occurrents, as being, or having been, very familiar with Secretary Calvert, I shall not need to dilate, but only touch what is here current; seeing he is so well instructed in all things, as that he is able to make a large comment upon any text you shall propound.

Our new noblemen had their patents delivered them on Sunday last; the Marquis Hamilton, to be Earl of Cambridge, and baron of,[2] I know not what place, in Yorkshire; the Lord of Aubigny, to be Earl of March, and baron of, I know not where;[3] Sir John Villiers, made Baron of Stoke, and Viscount Purbeck; and yet, as far as I can learn, the Lady Hatton will not be drawn to put him in possession of either; but only holds him in expectation, or rather in a doubtful hope.

The Lady of Salisbury is lately brought a-bed of a son, who is to be christened this next week by the prince, and Marquis of Buckingham. The young Lord Dacres hath a son likewise, by Sir Arthur Throckmorton's daughter.

Sir Thomas Lake lies very sick of the scurvy, till which extremity be over, his lady hath leave to be about him. Though the world condemns them sufficiently for their malicious and foolish carriage in all this business, yet it

[1] Probably this was Sir John Wingfield of Tickencote, high sheriff of Rutland, in 1631.

[2] James, second Marquis of Hamilton, was created Baron of Ennerdale and Earl of Cambridge.

[3] Baron of Clifton.

doth most detest Lady Roos, for so foully betraying her father and mother more than once.

The king, this next week, makes a petty progress to Otelands, Oking, and Windsor; and so means to pass over the time till the 19th of the next month, that he may remove from Theobalds to Royston, on his journey northward. His legs and feet come pretty well to him, having found out a very good expedient of late, to bathe them in every buck and stag's belly in the place where he kills them; which is counted an excellent remedy to strengthen and restore the sinews.[1] *Au reste*, he is fallen to his old diet, and will not be persuaded to forbear fruit, nor sweet wines. In the mean time, we are driven to hardships for money, and all too little; so that we are fain to make sale of jewels for £20,000, to furnish out this progress.

The Lord Digby prepares for Spain, and lays about him, all manner of ways, how he may compass money for the journey, which is become an ordinary course for those that have debts, or are to be employed how to project means for maintenance: which sets the mint of projecting so on work, that we hear of little or nothing else.

The new Viscount Purbeck is like to carry away the mastership of the horse, by resignation of his brother, from divers competitors, that pretended to it, some by promise, and some for other considerations.

I heard this day that little John More should be knighted. But I cannot believe it till I have it better confirmed.

We had a wedding this week at the Lady Farnham's, who hath bestowed her eldest daughter to one Bedell, a grandchild of Sir Arthur Capel's;[2] a young gentleman of good parts and means, without father, mother, brother, or sister; and the match is every way likely, and full of fair conditions, and without exception, saving that he is somewhat younger than his bride.

[1] Surely the remedy was worse than the disease.

[2] By his daughter, Catherine Winnifred, who was married to Sir Thomas Bedell, of Hummerton, in Huntingdonshire.

To Mr. William Trumbull, Resident at Brussels.

London, June 28, 1619.

On Friday last, my Lady Roos made her recognition in writing, which was read in the Star Chamber, containing her confession and acknowledgment for having contrived and forged the writings, whereby the Lady of Exeter was charged of poisoning and incest; for the which she craved pardon of God, of the king, and of the said lady; and was made afterwards to demand pardon of her for the same, and for suborning Sarah Swarton, to be a witness therein. But Sir Francis Lake and his Lady refused absolutely to submit themselves to such recognition, whereupon they were condemned to remain close prisoners in several rooms, and to have only one man to attend upon each of them. Yet because Sir Thomas is sick at this instant, he hath been suffered to enjoy, for a time, the help of his lady.

The king, on Monday next, is to be feasted at Wimbledon, where the States are entertained this day, by the Earl of Exeter, and General Cecil. Their commissioners are not yet come out of Holland, by reason of the contrary winds; but, in the mean time, they have resumed the matter of Greenland, and are now treating with our commissioners about it.

Concerning the Dutch merchants' cause for transporting of coin out of the kingdom, it is put off till Michaelmas term.

Our chief talk here now is of the new stirs in Naples, where it is confidently reported, that the Duke of Ossuna is revolted from the King of Spain, and hath demanded of the Venetians, and of the King of France, and also of the Pope's imprisoning of the Marquis of Coeuvre, the king's ambassador, for having taken upon him to seize and send back to France a gentleman that the queen-mother had sent to Rome.

To Mr. Trumbull.

London, June 28, 1619.

Upon the 18th, Sir Thomas Lake and his lady were to have made their submission and acknowledgment publicly,

before the Lords in the Star Chamber; but, because they came not, they are committed close prisoners, and not suffered to come the one to the other, and allowed only, each of them, one servant.

My Lady Roos did it bravely and freely in writing under her hand, whereof I may chance to send you a copy the next week, if I can get it.

The king, God be thanked, was never in his life in better health than at this present; and so is the prince.

My Lady Bedford is upon the recovering hand.

Upon the 19th, all the presents were sent after the Danish ambassadors to Gravesend; a chain of £200 to Sinclair, and a chain of £150 to Carasino, who had taken shipping towards the Hague before it came. They are not the best satisfied, as I understand, because they are not allowed (I mean, their master) to join with us in our trade in the Indies, which was their sole business.

Our States only attend the return of commissioners of the Company of the East Indies on the other side, to sign and ratify the articles, which are ready. The news holdeth still, that they have taken a great prize from the King of Spain, about the Manillas; and we have here a bruit, that the Duke of Ossuna hath made a revolt from the King of Spain.

Mr. Abraham Williams to the Lord Viscount Doncaster.

London, July 9, 1619.

We have here Donato, the late Venetian ambassador, who, upon his return to Venice, was fain to make an escape by disguising himself, and flying back into England for succour and relief, where he doth labour, by my Lord of Buckingham's and my Lord of Arundel's mediations to his majesty, to obtain his peace, by his majesty's intercession to that State. His offence is said to have been committed whilst he was ambassador with the Duke of Savoy, by making profit underhand with the merchants, of those moneys which were made over from the State of Venice, for the use and assistance of the Duke of Savoy.

Yesterday, his majesty and the prince, who are both in very good health, came to Whitehall, and this afternoon

go to Wanstead. This morning, the king sat with the lords of the council, concerning the late lord treasurer, whether he shall be proceeded against in the Star Chamber or not; but I do not understand what resolution is taken therein.

The Lady Roos, as it is said, shall this day be set at liberty, as her brother, Sir Arthur Lake, already is. Sir Thomas Lake hath the liberty of the Tower, that any man may speak to him; but his lady is to be kept still a close prisoner, and more strictly than heretofore.

Sir Allen Apsley hath given over the lieutenantship of the Tower to one Philips, who hath compounded with him for the sum of £2,600.

My Lady Bedford is well recovered, only she hath a [disorder] in one of her eyes; so that she doth not yet go abroad.

I now send away, by this ordinary, two letters from his majesty; the one to the Elector Palatine, the other to the Princes of the Union.

Isaac Wake, Esq., to Secretary Naunton.

Turin, July 12-22, 1619.

The Duke of Ossuna hath caused a discourse to be written, wherein is remonstrated, that it will be necessary for the service of the King of Spain to continue him in the government of that kingdom (Naples), to keep the Venetians in awe.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 15, 1619.

I received your letter, of the 16th of the last month, the 18th of this present, but not by Mr. Hales,[1] of whom I hear nothing, save only that he arrived here about the beginning of last week. Since my last, here is nothing fallen out worth the writing; and I have seldom seen the world at so low an ebb, both at home and abroad; for the great stirs in France are gone *en punée;* and if

[1] The Rev. John Hales, of Eton College, chaplain to Sir Dudley Carleton.

the pacification be such as we have here in print, I do not see how they could have had better conditions, if they had taken the king prisoner.

Sir Robert Killigrew came, on Tuesday last, to the court, from the Lord of Doncaster.

The Countess of Bedford was lately at the last cast, and no hope of life left, insomuch that, receiving the communion in company of the lord chamberlain, Marquis of Hamilton, and others, as her *viaticum*, she gave over the world, and took her leave; but the worst is, they say, the master-pock hath settled in one of her eyes, whereby she is like to lose it.

The king is now at Wanstead, and thence removes to Theobalds, where he is to continue till the 19th of this month, that he begins his progress.

Divers of our great lords, as Marquis Buckingham, the lord chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel, and others, are minded, they say, to take a posting journey into Scotland, when the king is at Rufford, to accompany the duke [1] and Marquis Hamilton; and this *bon voyage* is upon a gaiety and kind of promise some of them made when they were there.

That portion of the queen's jewels that was rated at £20,000, Peter Van Lere hath them for £18,000, which, together with some other helps, doth serve to defray the progress. But the choice of pearl, and other rare jewels, are not touched, among which there is a carcanet of round and long pearl, rated at £40,000; in the judgment of the Lord Digby and others, the fairest that are to be found in Christendom.

We have had speech this fortnight of some present alteration in our gold. But whether for better or for worse, God knows; saving that, by daily experience, we find the old proverb true, seldom comes the better.

Our Turkey merchants have made choice of a new ambassador for Constantinople, one Sir John Eyre. The question was doubtful, and almost indifferent, 'twixt him and Sir Thomas Glover, who was appointed his competitor. This last week likewise, the East Indian Company, with

[1] Of Lennox.

some difficulty, have chosen Sir Thomas Smith their governor for this year. The king sent them word, it was not fit to remove him, now that he had taken so great pains in the treaty, and that the articles had been hitherto ratified under his hand, as governor.

At the king's being here on Thursday, it was expected that the Lord of Suffolk's acknowledgment and submission should have been accepted at the council-table, and so the suit in the Star Chamber to cease. But when it came to the point, it was found that a verbal submission could not countervail his former answer upon oath of being guiltless of those things wherewith he was charged. So that the matter is referred to proceed in the Star Chamber the next term. If the cause had now ended, it is verily thought, we should presently have had a new lord treasurer, to which place Sir Fulk Greville is specially named, or, as some will needs have it, Secretary Naunton, or at least-wise, to succeed him in the chancellorship of the exchequer; so earnest are they to remove him, whether higher or lower, though most fasten this last place on Sir Henry Spiller.

Poor Harry Parker was released on Friday out of the Gate House, where he had lain five or six weeks upon a relapse. Sir Arthur Lake was delivered somewhat before. On Saturday, the Lady Roos, for her good service, was set at liberty, while her father, poor man! passes his time in sawing of billets, and giving orders to sell land and all his leases.

Sir William Clarke's eldest son, without his father's privacy, is lately married to the Lady Verney, widow to him that turned Turk: and, though there be no great inequality between them, either for wealth or years, he being four or five and forty, and she two or three and thirty, yet the old knight is so much offended, that he threatens to disinherit him, and hath vowed they shall never come within his doors.

Mr. Locke hath imparted to me somewhat of that you wrote him, wherein I know not what to advise; for men are not so forward as they have been, and some that he named unto me, of mine own knowledge, either refused it,

or were refused for their trifling, and withal the price is much fallen; so that, if anything were to be given in gratuities, the thing would prove like a Banbury cheese, that goes away most in parings. Howsoever you resolve, I shall wish all good success; but *rebus sic stantibus*, if it were my case, I should follow the Italian proverb, *chi ben serve, et demanda assai.*

Upon report of your being so much troubled with the stone, I had some conference this last term with Sir William Borlase, who hath been much afflicted with it heretofore, and presumes this medium I send here enclosed, is a special preservation to prevent it, having had especial proofs of it as well in himself as others. The thing is very safe and easy; which is not the least commendation of a medicine, to be *de facile parabilibus.*

Your States are upon their departure, being solemnly feasted this day, for a farewell, at Merchant Taylors' Hall; and yesterday they took their leave of the king at Theobalds, where they were likewise feasted, and, as I hear, three of them knighted, besides a present to four of them, of 500 ounces of plate apiece.

The king was in town on Tuesday, in the afternoon, at the lord mayor's, and sent for him, his lady, and daughter, from dinner at the Merchant Taylors' Hall, to recommend Christopher Villiers for a suitor to his daughter. It is odds but he must speed, when the king pleads and works so openly for him.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 31, 1619.

Sir Henry Saville is crept up again, and so well amended, that he makes account to go this next week to Oxford, and there to make up an election at Merton College, as his *chef d'œuvre,* and last work. That day, the king began his progress; our young lord admiral went to Chatham, to see the ships; and that was all he could do in the space of four or five hours, to make a short survey, to have a number of pieces of ordnance shot off, and to bestow a largess of three or four hundred Jacobus

pieces among the mariners, and other mean officers of the navy. He sent for Sir Horace Vere, to accompany him, and not many more besides the Lord Digby, who made choice of the Antelope, to be made ready with all speed for his journey into Spain. The Lord Marquis went that night to the countess his mother at Erith, who lies much of late at Denmark House, by reason the Viscountess Purbeck hath the keeping of it, by the king's special appointment, when he granted the house to the prince.

The Marquis would fain settle himself hereabout, and is much in love with Bedington, near Croydon, having won the king, prince, and divers others, to move Sir Nicholas Carew about it. But it seems he will not be removed, by reason his uncle bestowed it so frankly upon him, with purpose to continue his memory there, and to that end caused him to change his name.[1] If his lordship would have patience, he might find out many places convenient enough, or, at farthest, stay for Gorhambury, whereof, they say, he hath the reversion, after my lord chancellor's life; but upon what terms, or conditions, is only between themselves.

Our commissioners for the East Indian business have been well paid for their pains, having had presents, both from the one side and the other. The particulars of all I know not; but the Lord Digby and Sir Fulk Greville had each of them a basin and ewer of gold, of £300 value from the States, and each of them a chain of gold, to the same sum, from our own company. No doubt, Mr. Treasurer,[2] Mr. Comptroller,[3] the master of the Rolls,[4] Sir Edward Coke, Sir Lionel Cranfield, Sir Clement Edmonds, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Henry Martin, and I know not how many more, had their part, in proportion; which must needs rise to a great matter among so many.

Our men have despatched away the Bull, a good ship, with letters into the East Indies, to give notice to both sides of this argument. But our men begin to murmur and misdoubt that all is not well thence this year.

[1] From Throckmorton, he being son to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, by Anne, sister to Sir Nicholas Carew.

[2] Sir Thomas Edmondes. [3] Sir Henry Carey. [4] Sir Julius Cæsar.

Sir Henry Wotton is come, they say, in poor plight, having tarried as long as his credit would hold out, and with as little hope to procure his entertainment here, at any tolerable conditions.

Sarah Swarton is quit, by a public submission on Sunday last, at the parish church of St. Martin's in the Fields, and acknowledging her faults and forgeries; but afterward, as I hear, in the same place, clearing Sir Thomas Lake and his lady what she could, and laying all the blame on the Lady Roos. On Thursday, Sir Thomas Lake was set at liberty (but his wife lies by it still), and against his coming home the bells were rung, and a noise of trumpets ready to receive and welcome him: and all this by order from himself, if it be credible. Some few days before, there was a warrant brought for his enlargement, in regard of his health, yet, so that he was confined to his brother's, the Bishop of Bath; which clause he misliking, upon pretence that he could not follow his business, nor procure so ready payment, unless he were more free, he hath gotten to be dismissed upon his own bond of £1000, to appear and present himself when he shall be called for. This, and some other reasons, make some, that take upon them to know much, to give out, that we shall shortly see him in grace again: but, for my part, *credat Judæus Apella.*

Young Sir John Smith, that married the Lady Isabella Rich, is stepped aside, and gone over secretly into France, which breeds many surmises; but himself hath written to his father, that the clamour of creditors, the high state of expense, he was fallen into, the unequal division of his maintenance, the avoiding of some company, unfit for him, and the enabling himself to live more providentially hereafter, had caused him to absent himself.

On St. James's Eve, upon a return, or wager, one went from Southwark to Calais, and back again the same day, having almost an hour and a half to spare of his limited time, which was from broad daylight to sunset.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 23, 1619.

Since I wrote by Mr. Barnard, I received a book of the Synod, by Harman the post, and your letter, by Mr. Wingfield. On Tuesday last, I went with the Lady Winwood, to render the visit to Ware Park. The young Lady Trevor, her niece, with her husband, Mrs. Packer, her eldest son, and her ward Wingfield, were all her company. They found very kind and friendly usage, and came away well pleased, but for a mischance that happened to young Bedell, the late bridegroom, who, following hard after a buck the Lady Winwood had struck, his horse carried him against a tree; so that with the blow and fall he was sorely battered and bruised, and, at our coming away, we left him in a burning fever. But a physician was presently sent for, and I hope all will be well; else I shall be loth to return thither to-morrow, for the rest of this summer, as I have proposed and promised, if God will.

I never knew a more empty and barren time for news, than this vacation hath been, so that they are fain, almost every week, to coin great battles in Bohemia, the revolt of the viceroy of Naples, the winning of Cyprus by the Spanish fleet; and now, lastly, the choosing of Ferdinand emperor. And yet, withal, the Bishop of Triers might be fallen off from the rest of the ecclesiastical electors, with a number of such other unlikelihoods.

And from the court this progress we have as little, saving a tale, that Sir Thomas Jerningham hath killed a country fellow for opposing his riding over his corn; which I give less credit to, because we had such another of the Lord Scroop the week before, that about Henley he had killed a young gentleman, one Foster, that had won of him at bowls, and other gaming, above £1500 pieces, besides his coach and coach-horses: and for refusing to lend him them, they fell out. But the truth is, there was no such mishap befel, nor any quarrel, only the young gentleman had once won above £5000 pieces among them, though he carried not half away. And, indeed, I have not heard a greater play than was there; as, for example, they played

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three pieces glick, as ordinary as folks use to play two-penny glick.

We had a tale likewise, that the prince was coming back, for being too strictly restrained from his sports and pleasures; as also of a proper young gentleman, one Ventris, lately come from travel, creeping into favour, by my Lord of Buckingham's procurement. But I heard since, that the gentleman lies sick of the smallpox, though his beauty little or nothing impaired.

A blunt brother of Secretary Winwood's, one Sir Edward Richardson, was knighted this progress at Sir William Cavendish's. These and such like knights make baronets begin to come into request again: as of late we have had three or four, whereof the first was Sir John Villiers, eldest brother to the Lord of Buckingham, a man so careless of honour or courting, as the king said, he would scant give thanks for it, and debated whether he would accept of it. Another was Sir James Lee, attorney of the Court of Wards; besides Sir William Hervey,[1] that married the old Countess of Southampton;[2] and young Hickes, son to Sir Michael Hickes, that comes to it, I know not by what title. Sir Francis Crane hath three baronets given him, in consideration of a project he hath in hand of setting up the making of tapestry and arras.

The Lady of Montgomery was brought a-bed of a son this day sevennight, whereby Sir William Herbert's[3] hopes are once more in the wain. Auditor Saxie died two or three days since, and, they say, hath left his widow very rich. If I be not mistaken, she is of your old acquaintance, Mrs. Champernoon, that waited on the old Lady Norris. Moll Newbury died this last week, and was buried at St. Sepulchre's.

Sir Harry Wotton is gone down to meet the king at Woodstock, where I hear he will find but cold welcome. The progress ends on Saturday next, at Windsor.

We have great noise here of a new spa, or spring of that nature, found lately about Wanstead, and much run-

[1] In the reign of Charles created Lord Hervey, of Kidbroke.
[2] Mary, relict of Henry, second Earl of Southampton.
[3] Made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of James, and by Charles created Lord Powis.

ning there is to it daily both by lords and ladies, and other great company, so that they have almost drawn it dry already; and if it should hold on, it would put down the waters at Tonbridge, which for these three or four years have been much frequented, specially this summer, by many great persons, insomuch that they, which have seen both, say it is not inferior to the spa for good company, numbers of people, and other appurtenances.

Yesterday, by good hap, I lighted on Maurice Abbot,[1] and, in conference of East Indian matters, I told him how little you were beholden to them, considering your care and pains in this business. He confessed you were forgotten, because you were not in their eye; but he would put some in mind of it, that might see it amended. I was glad to take this occasion, because Mr. Bell is not always to be found, keeping much in the country, and I know not when nor where to hunt him out; and, if you hear nothing of them before I return, I will cause Sir Thomas Smith to understand it one way or other.

Mr. Thomas Murray[2] *to the Lord Viscount Doncaster.*

Berkhamstead, August 29, 1619.

I have received your lordship's, of the 18th, from Aix. I being come from the court to refresh me for some days here, so soon as I did receive it I did send your letter, with the discourse enclosed, to his highness, who, I hope, will answer by the same occasion, which, I hope, shall be sent. You need not doubt of the caution which your lordship did prescribe me. We did hear of the contents of your last despatches eight days ago, and above, but they were not so positively written. I hope God will work that in the public cause of Germany and Bohemia, which great princes do neglect.

My lords the Marquis of Hamilton and the chamberlain returned from Holland, and were at court the first day his majesty came to Woodstock. My Lady Bedford

[1] A merchant, brother of Archbishop Abbot.

[2] Tutor and secretary to Charles when Prince of Wales, and afterwards principal of Eton College.

will hardly escape the loss of her eye. All things are preparing for the expediting of the Earl of Suffolk's cause in the Star Chamber the next term. Sir Thomas Lake, having obtained liberty to abide till Michaelmas, must return to the Tower, in case his majesty is not earnestly moved for favour, which is much solicited by those means which are most powerful. My Lord Digby solicits perpetually the provision of money for his journey, albeit we have no assurance yet of Gondomar's coming. The Count de Tillières is in London, and is to have his first audience at Windsor, seven days hence.

Extract of a Letter from[1] ———.

London, September 16, 1619.

I wrote unto you the last week what news came to my knowledge since my late return out of the country. I left you then upon the point of a solemn deliberation, which was to be held at that time at Whitehall, about the counsel which the king was to give the Prince Elector of Palatine concerning his acceptation or refusal of the crown of Bohemia,[2] all the lords having been sent for from their several houses (where most of them were dispersed) about this business. But they were eased, at that time, from the trouble of that deliberation, by the presentation of the advertisement given by the Baron Dhona, that his majesty had accepted of the said crown; or, at least, that he should be forced to do it out of hand, being loth, it seemeth, to intimate the direct acceptation of it to his majesty. Whereupon there was another meeting of the council appointed, on Sunday, at Wanstead, to resolve about the manner of his majesty's carriage and proceedings in this business; whether he should engage himself unto the said king's assistance or no, and with what means. But his

[1] Probably by the same writer as the preceding; as the originals were found among the papers of James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, subsequently in the possession of Lord Royston, afterwards Earl of Hardwicke.

[2] An insurrection had lately taken place at Prague, and the crown of Bohemia had been offered to Frederick, the Elector Palatine, which he eagerly accepted, greatly to the satisfaction of the English people, who were determined to help him to retain it, in opposition to the Emperor Ferdinand.

majesty, perceiving that the council's inclinations tended to the affirmative, which was against his own, he prevented their advices, being come himself to the board with a plain declaration that he would not engage himself into the quarrel, afore he was satisfied of the justice of the States of Bohemia's proceeding in renouncing of Ferdinand, whom they had formerly chosen for their king.

Besides that, he said the business did not require such a haste of his resolutions, seeing that the winter was so near at hand, during the which there could be nothing done; upon which speech of his majesty's all the board remained mute, there being very few among them that had other affections than to favour the lively embracing of the cause, both for the common good of the religion, and for the particular honour and interest of this State. And it is a great heart's grief to many, that so glorious and brave an occasion should be no better entertained by us, and that noble prince no better seconded in his generous proceeding. Yet will I not deny, but some good judgments do, with very plausible reasons, justify his majesty's present forbearance; in that if, upon this first advertisement, he should break forth into an open declaration and assistance of the new king, he should not only belie all the former actions and professions of his life, whereby he hath got his reputation and title of a peacemaker of Christendom, seeing that it would presently cast the imputation on him of having been the author and abettor of that enterprise of his son-in-law, but after would be like to stir up the other Catholic princes, as France and others, to the defence of the other party, as being a mere quarrel of religion; whereas, by this his majesty's reservedness, it is supposed, they will be contented, and glad, perhaps, to see the new greatness of Ferdinand contested by that of the new king of Bohemia. With these discourses we must comfort ourselves, when we cannot better help it. Yet his majesty hath not yet given his definitive answer to the Baron Dhona; and your news (as I understand) being come on Monday last, with the advertisement of the hasty raising of ten thousand men more in your parts, we are

now expecting to see what necessity will be able to work more than reason in us.

The preparation of the ships appointed for my Lord Digby's transportation is still going forward, to be ready, according to the first order, on the 20th of October; but somebody told me to-day, that Sir Walter Aston, who was to go along with him, is marked to forbear the making of his preparations.

Sir Thomas Lake, as I understand, doth sometimes go to comfort himself with his lady. It was my good luck yesterday to meet him in the street, where I congratulated with him for his happy enlargement; but he told me he had it only for a short time by his majesty's favour, for his health's sake, and that he knew not afterwards what should become of him. You have heard how he hath put in a bond for his returning into the Tower on Michaelmas-day, and it is by some presumed that he must do it, because he has come out without making acknowledgment of his faults; yet he was as earnest with me as ever, to inquire after news in France.

I do not doubt but you have heard also of the jar between my lord marquis and my lord chamberlain, about the disposing of the groom-porter's place; but that matter seemeth now to be pacified.

Sir Thomas Roe is come back out of the Indies, in a ship worth, by report, £160,000, but he is not yet arrived here; neither hath he sent his letters, whereby to know how matters are in those parts. But out of Holland, it is reported that Sir Thomas Dale's is sunk, by hitting at night against an island near Bantum; and that Sir Thomas, having escaped of that danger, did afterwards take one of their ships, and drove nine more out of the haven of Lucatra, and was besieging the fort which they have in that place; of which proceedings they have sent one hither to complain, and to let our company know that for these occasions, which are like much to consume their people there, they are resolved to send a greater supply of ships thither this winter than they did before propose.

Extract of a letter from ———.

London, September 17, 1619.

Touching the moving of this court, I have as yet received very little information on which to ground my advertisements. This I find for certain; the Baron Dhona hitherto hath received little or no satisfaction in the subject he hath dealt in.

His majesty, in full assembly of the council, at Wanstead, on Sunday last, declared much coldness to meddle in the quarrel, delivering that he would, in the first place, be fully satisfied of the equity of the grounds, and reasons upon which the Bohemians had renounced the sovereignty of Ferdinand, how he grew to be deserted, and what power and warrant they had to make this new election. Next, if he should even presently find reason to affect the business, yet the time of winter so near approaching, there was no necessity of sending succours out of hand. I have learned that the most of the court came very well prepared to have remonstrated to his majesty the necessity that lay upon him to embark himself in the action. But, as his majesty carried his speech, there was left no place for their advices. Some are of opinion that the Marquis Buckingham is a furtherer of the resolution that way, having lately used this speech. That, as he had received all he had from his majesty's most gracious favour and bounty, so he was ready to spend it all in the cause of the King of Bohemia, wherein this kingdom had so great an interest.

If this were his speech, I know not how this realm or the people can love and honour him sufficiently. I will believe he used it until I know more.

The Spanish party bestir their utmost to hinder the assistance, expressing many panic fears of the consequence that the same may draw after them; and what swarms of enemies his majesty is like to pluck upon his arms at once.

It is said, that in the declaration showed here by the Baron Dhona, touching the Bohemian's proceeding, there was no passage wherein it was said that they were forced, for such and such reasons, to use *fenestration*, a word which they thought was the fittest to express the act of

casting some out of the window. And, by occasion of it, a privy councillor, whispering another in the ear, wished that *fenestration* were the reward of such that had their tongues so *Hispaniolised.*

The pique between the Lord Chamberlain and the Lord Marquis Buckingham, about the groom-porter's place, is not yet reconciled. My Lord Digby doth prepare for his journey; of his £20,000, impressed by warrant, he hath obtained £3000, other £7000 to be paid him in Michaelmas term; and the rest of it is assigned upon a receiver of his majesty's revenue.

The business of the Dutch proceedeth, and the late lord treasurer can get no remission, but that he must be forced to abide the trial of the Star Chamber.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 16, 1619.

On Wednesday last, being our first Star Chamber-day this term, Corteen, Burlamachi, and another Dutchman, were called into that court, *ore tenus*, for going about to corrupt certain witnesses, that had deposed against them, touching transportation of gold, and seeking, by indirect means, to make them retract what they had said and witnessed. How well this misdemeanour was urged and proved against them, or how well they answered for themselves, I have heard diversely reported, and were long to relate; but, in conclusion, they were all censured to imprisonment, during the king's pleasure, and Courteen fined at £2000. Burlamachi, after much commendation otherwise, and many good words from the Earl of Arundel and others, at 2000 marks, and the third at £500; but all this is nothing to the main matter, that is threatened to hang over their heads, which puts many of our strangers into such a fright, that I hear they make preparation to be gone; and Burlamachi makes profession, that he will tarry no longer than the determination and finishing of this business.

Yesterday, the Lord Holles, or Houghton, was condemned there in £10 costs to the Lord Coke, and to imprisonment in the Fleet, for not answering to certain

interrogatories ministered to him in a cause depending between them in that court.

On Wednesday, the Lord of Suffolk's case is to be handled there, if no *supersedeas* comes in the mean time, as now and then the news runs, sometimes one way, sometimes the other.

About a fortnight since, Sir John Whitbrook was stabbed and killed in the Fleet, by Boughton, one of his fellow-prisoners. The case is the harder, for that he had made means divers times to the warden or keeper, to be separated from such an unruly chamber-fellow, and could not obtain it. The matter is not yet come to trial; so that I do not thoroughly understand the evidence.

There be likewise two or three deer-stealers in the King's Bench, for hunting in Hyde Park, and killing a keeper, for which they were indicted yesterday at Westminster, and are like to be arraigned shortly. But the case is not so foul as it seems at first sight, if it is true they were set on, by a letter of Sir Thomas Watson's, to entrap certain notorious stealers, by a double train; and that the keepers had notice of their coming, as they pretend, and shot hail-shot among them at their first approach.

I met your nephew Carleton in Paul's, on Sunday, who told me, that the day before, he had a lamentable letter from his father, that his wife was on the point to leave this world, and lay speechless, so that, in all likelihood, she is departed.

Sir Garrat Samms is in hot pursuit, and in great hopes of obtaining the widow Saxie, which I should take for no great purchase, for his father's only son to marry a wife almost double his age, for a matter of five or six thousand pounds, at most; but that necessity hath no law, nor reason.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 20, 1619.

Here is so little alteration since my last, that I should scant have written this week but to retract what I sent

you concerning the Lord of Suffolk's censure; for the Lord Coke having the leading, and thundering out £100,000, imprisonment in the Tower, during the king's pleasure, for him and his lady asunder, at their own charge, and restitution to the parties aggrieved, and for Sir John Bingley, £5000 fine, with imprisonment in the Fleet. And this being seconded by the Chancellor of the Exchequer,[1] bred an opinion in them that came away, and heard no further, that this sentence would pass current. But when it came to the Lord Hobart's[2] turn, he so turned the tide, that no man dissented from him after he had spoken, but only Secretary Naunton, who concurred with the Lord Coke: and the Duke of Lennox gave a touch, that he could have been content the fine had continued at the highest, that the king's mercy might appear the more. But the Lord Hobart did so anatomize the cause, as my Lord Chancellor termed it, and gave so good reasons for every particular, that he brought down the one fine to £30,000, and the other to £2000; adding, withal, that the institution of that court was not to ruin men and their families; that it might fine, but not ransom so far as that *salvo contenimento* (a phrase of Magna Charta), a man should not have means to uphold his degree, which, being approved by all, without exception, but him I named before, hath gained him a general good opinion; though, if all be true I hear, he hath got no good by it to himself, and shall find little thanks for his labour. But, according to this sentence, Sir John Bingley went to the Fleet on Tuesday; and yesterday, or this morning, my Lord of Suffolk and his lady are for the Tower, where some wags take the liberty to say, they hold a council-table, being furnished with a lord treasurer,[3] a lord chamberlain,[4] a captain of the pensioners, and a secretary;[5] and the ladies may, likewise, keep a conventicle, if they admit the old Countess of Shrewsbury into their company, though she is somewhat fantastic.

The Lady of Bedford hath gotten an imposition of two-pence a chaldron upon sea-coal: and yet all will not serve,

[1] Sir Fulk Greville. [2] Sir Henry Hobart, lord chief justice.
[3] Earl of Suffolk. [4] Earl of Somerset. [5] Sir Thomas Lake.

for she is upon selling all the land that descended to her from her father or her brother, being, they say, £50,000 in debt; as that the overplus will hardly amount to £20,000.

The king cut off the difference about the groom-porter-ship by telling the lord chamberlain, that what right soever he had, he should [not] bestow it upon him; so that one Cotterel, a creature of the Lord of Buckingham's, placed in by him, continues the possession without interruption. But I hear there is a new pique fallen out; for the lord chamberlain being upon the point of agreement with the Earl of Nottingham for the justiceship of Eyre, on this side Trent, and acquainting the Lord of Buckingham withal, with offer to exchange with him for that beyond Trent, which he had enjoyed ever since the death of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the matter so falls out, that the Lord of Buckingham hath fully concluded with the Earl of Nottingham, and resigned his place beyond Trent to the Earl of Rutland.

This week here was a pink of Dunkirk laden with Englishmen's goods, surprised in the night by certain lewd fellows about Blackwall, and carried quite away.

Taverner is clapt up in the King's Bench, and threatened to have forfeited his pardon, for giving ill language to the Lord of Northampton, and other misdemeanours.

We have lately lost Samuel Daniel, the poet; Serjeant Chapone, a great lawyer of Essex; and Sir Edmond Withipole, who, being cut of the stone this day sevennight, died within four days after.

Though the expectation of the Count Gondomar's coming grows cold, and that we begin to mistrust the Spaniards do but dally and trifle with us, yet Sir Walter Aston hath order presently to prepare himself and be gone through France.

Yesterday, the business of the merchant strangers was set on foot again in the Star Chamber, and some two or three and twenty more brought in, than were in the former Bill, among whom are, Peter Van Lere, Sir Thomas Cottels, and others; so that in conclusion it seems they

must give down their milk one way or other; but whether this be a thriving course *viderit utilitas.*

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 1, 1619-20.

Since I received your letter of the 15th of December, here hath little fallen out worth the writing, but only the king's coming to town the day before Christmas-eve, and little hath passed at court besides plays and revels, but only that on Christmas-day the Lord Walden was willed to forbear waiting in his place; and the same night Sir Thomas Howard passing near the king at supper, it was thought somewhat audacious, and the prince had commandment to discharge him his service. Their boldness is the more misliked, for that the Lord of Suffolk's and his lady's release out of the Tower was upon condition and promise that their sons should relinquish their places. But it seems they meant it not.

We expect the Lord of Doncaster with some devotion, to see if his coming will make the alteration much spoken of, for him to be lord chamberlain, and the Lord of Pembroke, treasurer. Which, if it should fall out, what would become of the Lord of Arundel's and his lady's due and daily observance, who are like to have but an ill year of it, specially if the Countess of Pembroke's child live, and prove well, which would be out of their way more than I think they are worth: and that great bellied lady is now going to lie down at Wilton.

The Venetian ambassador had audience on Christmas-eve, and was at court again the Sunday following with great pomp and show of coaches, which is almost out of fashion here, and the French familiarity grows more in request. So that the French ambassador made a feast on Thursday last, at noon, to the Duke of Lennox, Marquis Buckingham, Marquis Hamilton, and some few other courtiers; who have a meaning on Monday next to requite his courtesy with a masque; but the world says the loadstone of all this *domestichezza* is a kinswoman of

the ambassador's, or his wife's, a dainty young demoiselle, and, in the judgment of other choice dames, a fine piece for a French woman.

The Lady Elizabeth Hatton, upon whose ground I know not, hath undertaken a task ever since before Christmas, to make a feast, with dancing and revelling, every Thursday night, till Lent, wherein her standing guests, besides others, are, the Earl of Warwick and his lady; the Viscount Purbeck and his lady; Mr. Treasurer,[1] with his son and daughter, who is commonly very jovial at such meetings, though he had but a cross encounter there not long since. The Lord of Buckingham is so oppressed with multiplying of business, that he puts over a great part to his brother Purbeck, and, as I hear, refers all suitors to him, to come in by that door.

The merchant strangers that are in the Fleet have made means and petitions to the king by Sir Noel Caron, by the Dutch and French Churches, and by their wives, children, and friends; but I hear not yet with what success. I send here an authentic list of their names, which I had of your brother Williams, as they are set down, and estreated into that office. But, when all is done, they will have much to do to make up any great sum, for many of them are but poor men, not worth what they be fined at; and some be [surety] for others, that will let them lie by it: but the worst is, divers of them do, with deep execrations, forswear the fact for which they are censured, as Van Lere, for one, who in good company at dinner of late said, that when he had ended the business he would bid England farewell; and being told that it was no great loss to him, being otherwise so well feathered, having store of land in England; to which he answered, he had children here to leave it to: but for himself, he would go to save his skin; for they, that upon such witness could take away his goods, might, when they pleased, take his life. To say the truth, the carriage of the whole business sounds not so well with us here at home, whatsoever it doth abroad: and I am somewhat of that lord's opinion, who, when it came to his turn, said, that for his part he understood not the matter,

[1] Sir Thomas Edmondes.

but would proceed as the rest, *fide implicitâ*. What the consequence, for matter of trade, and for our merchants' affairs elsewhere,[1] may be hereafter, *viderit utilitas;* but the farmers of the customs feel it, and complain already, among whom Sir John Wolstenholme was, by the king's commandment, committed of late to his house for muttering against a patent, and newly-erected office in the Custom House, to the prejudice and undoing of their under clerks and writers.

I hear now at dinner that the Lord of Doncaster comes this day to court.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 12, 1619-20.

Yesterday, I received your letter by your nephew, Dudley, but have not yet perused Master Pory's business, which I will impart to Sir Dudley Digges, if he come in any time. He went away on Wednesday last, and left this enclosed, which, I think, gives notice that the dry-handed Indians will remember themselves and you better than they have done. I acquainted him with so much as you wrote touching the point, that you would not have it pressed; for God and men love a cheerful giver, as well as a grateful receiver: so that how it comes about I know not, unless by reason of the voice that runs of your return, which, upon better advice, I do not think to be likely, till the treaty of renewing the truce be fully finished.

We hear the king will be here within this fortnight, and spend all the Lent hereabout. They pass the time merrily at Newmarket, and the running masque reigns all over the country, where there be fit subjects to entertain it; as lately they have been at Sir John Crofton's, near Bury; and, in requital, those ladies have invited them to a masque of their own invention, all those fair sisters being summoned for the purpose; so that on Thursday next, the king, prince, and all the court, go thither a shroving.

[1] Englishmen were almost ashamed to show their faces on the continent, the pusillanimous conduct and mischievous rule of the monarch had so degraded the character of the country.

Some ten or twelve days since there fell out an unlucky accident, by reason of a quarrel and challenge 'twixt two Scottishmen, Sir Robert Ker,[1] near about the prince, and Maxwell,[2] brother to him of the bedchamber, who was left dead in the field, though he held himself the braver man, upon the success of having killed one before in Scotland, and another in France. But the king says, though he pardoned him then, and the French king after, yet it seems God would not pardon him now. Upon the prince's humble and earnest entreaty, assisted by the Duke of Lennox, and Marquis Hamilton, together with the coroner's inquest finding it but manslaughter, the king is pleased to remit the offence; and that Ker be restored to former favour, the rather for that he was extremely urged, and could not by any reasonable means avoid it. The quarrel grew at Thomas Murray's table upon some speech Ker used touching the deportment of Monsieur Lagnes, the French king's favourite; which the other would needs interpret to be meant by somebody[3] here at home, and threatened he would force him to confess it; which *outre créance* it seems proceeded of the success aforesaid.

Dick Taverner died this week of the smallpox and gout together, and made fearful end, if all be as is reported. The Earl of Dorset[4] is a proud man, of a young son his lady brought him the 2nd of this month. We hear the Lord Walden's son was christened on Thursday last, at Audley-End, by the Duke of Lennox, as deputy for the king, and the Marquis Buckingham. The king speaks of a second journey into Scotland the next year.

There be about fifty merchant strangers more, besides two or three English, called into the Star Chamber, about the old business of transporting of gold, and are like enough to undergo the same censure with their fellows, unless they come to composition, and make their peace in time. The Dutch and French churches here grieve

[1] Afterwards created Earl of Ancram. [2] Charles. [3] Buckingham.
[4] Richard Sackville: his father had been lord treasurer. There is a letter in Birch, "Life of Prince Henry," p. 139, in which the prince sues to the king that he may have him as his ward, he being then a minor, and the old lord on the point of death: two days before this event, he was married to Lady Anne Clifford (daughter and heir of George, Earl of Cumberland), in her mother's chambers in Austin Friars.

much at the matter, as fearing it will be their utter ruin. We hear, likewise, (how truly I know not) that divers gentlemen are called in question there for lying here in town, and not keeping houses in Christmas, as they were enjoined by a certain proclamation two or three years since. Among whom, I remember, Sir Isaac Sedley is named for one.

The lord privy seal[1] sat twice or thrice this week in the Court of Requests, as being incident to his office to be chief judge there. Some say he did it by commandment from the king, who means to make it a petty chancery. Others think, that having received some rubs of late, and sore for fear of worse to resign a patent he had of saltpetre, and making of powder, he is willing to retire himself, and so to advance and advantage himself in parting with his place, being in speech with the Earl of Arundel, who doth hunger and thirst after some place of employment.

We are here in a strange case to complain of plenty: but so it is, that corn beareth so low a price, that tenants and farmers are very backward to pay their rents; and, in many places, plead disability; for remedy whereof, the council have written letters into every shire, and some say to every market town, to provide a granary, or storehouse, with a stock to buy corn, and keep it for a dear year. But, though this be well advised, and make a fair show in speculation, yet the difficulties be so many, that it will not be so easy to put it in practice.

Our pulpits ring continually of the insolence and imprudence of women; and to help forward, the players have likewise taken them to task; and so to the ballads and ballad-singers; so that they can come nowhere but their ears tingle. And, if all this will not serve, the king threatens to fall upon their husbands, parents, or friends, that have, or should have power over them, and make them pay for it.[2]

We flatter ourselves, that the Bohemian ambassador hath better audience and acceptance; and that he rests

[1] Earl of Worcester.

[2] "The insolence and imprudence of women" were the natural fruits of a vicious and depraved court.

reasonably satisfied: but, till I see more certain and real signs of fruit, I shall not greatly regard such fading flowers.[1]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 26, 1619-20.

These cold, easterly winds, that have lasted now this fortnight, have brought us no other good but your letters of the 7th of this present, together with the ambassador of the Union, who on Thursday went to Theobalds, where the king hath been ever since Monday, and comes back with as cold comfort as he went; for, we say, that by the treaty, the king is not bound to assist them, but in a defensive war for religion; of which nature this is not, for we dispute daily against the Bohemian title; and, withal, the falling away of the Prince of Transylvania, under colour of a truce, gives a great blow to the cause, as we understand it here; for, let him palliate it with what pretence he will, yet it is manifest the Imperialists have gone beyond them in breaking the knot of confederacy, and do follow the rule of *divide et impera;* for Tacitus makes it the old dispute, both of that country and ours, *dum singuli pugnant omnes vincuntur;* and the States' emblem, of a fagot, or sheaf of arrows, might have put them in mind that *vis unita fortior.* Here is one Sir Andrew Gray, a Scot, come from Bohemia, who makes for leave to raise 2000 voluntaries; which, if he can compass, is but a poor handful.

The king comes to town this day, and hath lately given the Lord of Doncaster £20,000 towards his pains in his last journey. In the mean time, we are here in so great straits for money, that we are fain to make a breach into the assignation for maintenance of the navy, which course is like to bring all back to the former confusion; and such shifting and searching into all manner of grants and patents, that the broad seal, which was heretofore held so sure and sacred, is now become no sound evidence.

[1] The king was a long time before he could make up his mind to afford any assistance to his son-in-law, and ultimately bestowed just as much as could be of no use to him.

One Peacock, some time a schoolmaster and a minister, but a very busy-brained fellow, was the last week committed to the Tower, for practising to infatuate the king's judgment by sorcery, they say, in the business of Sir Thomas Lake, and the Lady of Exeter. He hath been strictly examined by the lord chancellor, the Lord Coke, the lord chief justice, the attorney, solicitor, and others; and on Tuesday, was hanged up by the wrists; and, though he were very impatient of the torture, and swooned once or twice, yet I cannot learn that they have wrung any great matter out of him. Sir Thomas Lake was confronted with him at the lord chancellor's, wherein a suspicion arises, that the matter may reach to him or his lady.

On Saturday last, Sir Thomas Holcroft, an old knight, that long since killed the Lord Burgh's elder brother,[1] fell down a pair of stairs at his lodging in the Strand, and so bruised his skull that he died this morning.

I forgot, in my last, that Sir Francis Nethersole was then newly married to Mrs. Goodyere, that served the Lady of Bedford, who gave her £500 or £700, besides £500 she bestowed upon them in gloves; which brought in a great contribution of plate, to make up a portion, which her father, Sir Henry, could not give. Sir Robert Cary's eldest son,[2] a knight, hath likewise married Sir Lionel Cranfield's daughter, but with what conditions I cannot tell.

We expect still the Spanish ambassador; but I know not how it is, after such a manner as the boys used to play at, he comes, and he comes not. For one week we hear he is at Paris, and the next that he is not on his way. Once it is thought the Lord Digby attends him with great devotion, and I hear of some cross language passed 'twixt him and the Lord North, at a table in court, about a journey Sir John North is making to the River of Amazon, in Guiana, which the Lord Digby argued against, as being to the prejudice of the King of Spain; and that the ambassador, at his coming, would hinder it. To which Lord North replied, that then he wished he might never

[1] Second son of William, fifth Baron de Burgh. [2] Henry.

come; and, withal, that he took the Lord Digby for the King of England's ambassador in Spain; but that it seemed he is rather the King of Spain's ambassador in England.

Mr. Wingfield never sees me but he inquires for an answer of his last letter; so that, it seems, they that will have correspondence with him must keep touch at their turn.

The Rev. Thomas Lorkin to ——.

Emanuel College, March 8, 1619-20.

Yesterday, Sir Robert Kerr[1] received his trial here at Cambridge for killing Maxwell, who, according to the indictment framed against him, was found guilty of manslaughter, and pleaded his rank for his life. The burning of the hand was suspended till his majesty's further pleasure should be known; only caution was taken for his appearance (£2000 bonds, which he and his sureties put in between them), whensoever his majesty should command the execution.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 29, 1620.

We have here a great commission come forth for the business of Paul's, comprehending all the council therein, divers bishops, with the residentiaries of that church, divers aldermen, and other citizens; and, for want of better, Mr. Wymarke and myself, that am very unfit for any such employment, and I know not how I came in, unless it be for my love to the place. The whole number is sixty-six; and the first day of sitting was this day sennight, when there was little or nothing done, but order taken how to proceed. I have not been among them since, so little joy I take in the office. The king is very earnest to set it forward, and they begin hotly; but I doubt, when all is done, it will prove, as they say, Paul's work. All the commissioners were invited to dine that

[1] *Camdeni Annales Jacobi*, p. 53.

day with the lord mayor, but, because I love not such confusion of company, I went not; yet, if I had known we should have met there such a bride as my lord mayor's daughter, married that morning to my Lord Effingham, it might by chance have tempted me. I do not greatly allow my lord mayor's judgment to purchase so poor honour with the price of his daughter, a handsome young woman, they say; and to bestow her on a man so worn out in state, credit, years, and otherwise. But the match may prove reasonably indifferent; for as they can look for nothing from him but bare honour, so, from her side, they are to expect no great matter more than money.

The king is now at Greenwich, where the solemnity of St. George's day was kept on Thursday last. The only thing of note I hear thence is, that, it coming to the Marquis Buckingham's turn to be coupled in one mess with the Earl of Rutland, he left him single to himself, and consorted with the Earl of Leicester; and yet the opinion is, the match must go on with his daughter, or else he should do her great wrong, as well in other respects, as that she hath condescended so far, for his sake and his mother's, as to be converted.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 8, 1620.

Our ambassadors are all despatched and gone; as well Sir Harry Wotton, Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Richard Weston, and Sir John Merrick, this day sevennight. Sir Henry Wotton is as confident of himself, and his dexterity in managing the business he goes about, that he told divers of our captains he was in hope to effect that they should keep their swords in their scabbards. In the mean time, our new levies go on but heavily; and whereas they thought they should have been oppressed with followers, they are fain to send far and near into the country to make up their numbers; which, if they were more full, they would be gone presently this next week.

I am sorry Sir Horace Vere should go so slenderly accompanied as to command but two thousand men;

which gives the Spanish ambassador occasion to break jests, and say, he must needs confess we are a very brave nation, that dare adventure with two thousand men to encounter ten thousand.

The king is now about Oatlands and Windsor, but expected here this day or to-morrow. The progress begins the 18th of this month, and then we are like to have little to do, seeing this last term is past over without any remarkable matter, more than the censuring of a pursuivant, in the Star Chamber, for making a traffic of taking priests, and letting them go for money. And there was another fellow expected, for giving out, openly and every where, that before Michaelmas we should have toleration for religion. Indeed, the world is now much terrified with the Star Chamber, there being not so little an offence against any proclamation, but is liable and subject to the censure of that court. And for proclamations and patents, they are become so ordinary, that there is no end, every day bringing forth some new project or other. As, within these two days, here is one come forth for tobacco, wholly engrossed by Sir Thomas Roe and his partners, which, if they can keep and maintain against the general clamour, will be a matter of great commodity; unless peradventure, indignation, rather than all other reasons, may bring that filthy weed out of use. In truth, the world doth even groan under the burthen of these perpetual patents, which are become so frequent, that whereas, at the king's coming in, there were complaints of some eight or nine monopolies then in being, they are now said to be multiplied to so many scores.

The king hath lately decided the question, for earls' younger sons to have precedence of knights councillors; which was a controversy some men think might have been left as it was found, for divers reasons.

The attorney-general is now suspended from his office, and the solicitor-general[1] hath the execution of the place till further order. There is a bill put into the Star Chamber against the attorney, the last[2] and this lord mayor, the recorder,[3] and common council of the city, for

[1] Sir Thomas Coventry. [2] Sir Sebastian Harvey. [3] Sir Robert Heath.

combination and conspiracy, to the prejudice of the crown, in renewing their charter, about this time twelvemonth. But I hear the attorney submitteth himself, and confesseth his ignorances and errors, being well advised not to stand and defend that he cannot well avoid; and the city offers to render up their charter, and take it as before.

Here is a grand bruit as if some great lawyers were like to be called in question for malversation; but, if there be any such meaning, they are wise enough to make their peace.

The Spanish heretic, that was condemned three or four years since, died lately in Newgate; and, though he lived so miserably that he was almost starved, yet there were forty good ducats in gold found in his patched rags, after his decease.

The last week, the Virginia Company chose the Earl of Southampton for their treasurer or governor, who accepted, and there is hope matters will go forward there better than heretofore. If Harman call, I will send you a book of all their orders and constitutions, with the names of all the adventurers, and the sums.

On Tuesday, Sir Thomas Smith, without any contradiction, was re-established governor of the East India Company, by reason of a letter from the king, wishing them not to alter their officers and committees; in which regard, Mr. Bell likewise continues his place, though, otherwise, he sink very much in sound, and, 'tis thought, would not have been heard or seen here long, if this had not fallen out. Yet, I understand, he had procured a good condition for himself, to be the East India Company's agent at Amsterdam, with provision of £400 a-year offered him, but he stood upon £500. Sir Dudley Digges thinks he hath somewhat *in deposito* for you; and that he meant to bring it with him when he should come.

To-morrow, Dr. Tounson is to be confirmed Bishop of Salisbury at Lambeth, and Dr. Williams to be admitted Dean of Westminster.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 27, 1620.

I sent your letter to Sir John Wolstenholme, who was then in the country, at Clay Hall, which he lately bought of the Lady Hatton, Sir Christopher's widow. I have not seen him since, but Will Fanshaw told me how exceedingly kindly he takes it, that you would vouchsafe to write to him, and afford such favour to his son; for whom likewise, and for your good remembrance of himself, Will Fanshaw desired me to return his thankful acknowledgments.

The king is in progress by this time as far as Salisbury, and makes his return by Farnham Castle, where the Bishop of Winchester entertains him, and makes account it will cost him £1000. Sir Thomas Monson kissed the king's hand not long before his going home, and was in a fair way, however, it is crossed, to be restored to his former place of the hawks. The Earl of Suffolk likewise kissed his hand the day before he went, and had more than half an hour's talk with him, all alone. His whole fine is remitted, saving £7000, which must be paid the Lord Hadington, to appease his discontent.

Most of our councillors have quitted this town, and are gone their several ways. The lord archbishop to Canterbury, the lord chancellor to Gorhambury, and the Lord Digby to Sherbourn, and so onward on his journey for Spain, having provided above fourscore yards of tawny velvet to guard thirty-two liveries, and I know not how much tawny satin, to make them hose and cassocks.

I hear of one Fawcet, a Scottish Dominican, long bred at Rome, and sent hither to be with the Spanish ambassador, that he is converted, and become a Protestant; which the ambassador storms mightily at, and demands to have him delivered as belonging to him.

Sir William Smith, that, more than two months since, was cut for stone in the bladder, and a huge stone taken from him, though he seemed to be well healed, and held out so long, yet by some disorder is lately dead. On Saturday, great store of Popish books were burnt in Paul's Churchyard; wherein, among other errors, were foul and

scandalous speeches against Queen Elizabeth and her government.

Our commission for Paul's begins very roughly, having taken order, that all the houses at the east and west ends shall be pulled down and demolished before the 1st of September, and those on the south and north sides before Whitsuntide next: which is somewhat a hard case for more than 2000 souls, one and another, as they pretend, to be turned out of house and home upon so short a warning, and with so little hope or appearance of recompense. Whereupon they made petition to the king at his being here; but he referred them back to the commissioners, saying that *stat sententia*, and they must down, but would have some means found to give them satisfaction, which is a matter not so easily done as said; for, to begin withal, the commissioners are fain to rate themselves at £20 a man, to defray the charge of pulling down the houses, and filling up the cellars and holes. But, for mine own part, I must confess I am so tender-hearted, that, if I must needs pay this money, I had rather it should go *ad ædificationem* than *ad ruinam;* but, by this manner of proceeding, I doubt we shall see hard courses taken, which will rather cause a cry and clamour than give contentment. God turn all to the best!

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 4, 1620.

Sir George Smith is come to a fair preferment for a man of his rank, to trail a pike in my Lord of Oxford's company, of whom some idle companion hath made a ridiculous rhyme, which goes about; but as I am no author, so should be no spreader of it but to yourself:—

Some say Sir Edward Cecil can
Do as much as any man;
But I say no—for Sir Horace Vere
Hath carried the Earl of Oxford where
He neither shall have wine nor cheer.
Now Hercules himself could do no more.

The king is now at Salisbury, whither the Viscount Hadington is gone to present himself to-morrow to him,

the day of his good fate and fortune.[1] All the news we have this progress is, that a young gentleman of good sort, one Waldron, was killed by the rise or bound of a buck in the king's presence, in a park of the Lord of Hertford. Sir Thomas Howard's entertainment of the king at a house of his in Wiltshire was much commended, and well accepted.

There is speech the king will shorten his progress; upon what reason I know not, but that some give out there be at least 200 or 300 Jesuits, priests and friars, lately come over, and grow so bold, that they go up and down in some places in their habits.

The Spanish ambassador went yesterday to Hampton Court, where he hath obtained leave to lie and lodge this summer.

The fleet of six of the king's ships, and fourteen merchants, are in a manner ready, and have a meaning, if the weather serve, to pass along in sight of the king, when he is at the sea-side. The world will not believe but what their chief errand and employment is to fetch the infanta.[2]

The Earl of Dorset's young and only son died this last week of the measles.

The demolishment of the houses about Paul's is threatened every day, but the people either do not or will not seem to believe it, nor do, nor remove, nor avoid; but some make jests, as if it were not meant in earnest; and one in knavery wrote upon his door, "*Stet quæso, candide lector.*"

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 14, 1620.

The term is yet so young, that it hath brought forth hitherto little or nothing worth the relating, only the first day Sir Thomas Chamberlain, chief justice of Wales and Chester, was sworn a judge of the King's Bench: at whose admission the lord chancellor took occasion to enlarge upon the prerogative, and how near it was of kin and of

[1] The anniversary of his delivery from the Gowry conspiracy.

[2] The infanta of Spain. Negociations had been carried on for some time by James for her marriage with his son.

blood (as he termed it) to the common law; saying further, howsoever some unlearned lawyers might prattle to the contrary, that it was the accomplishment and perfection of the common law. Which new doctrine but now broached, is perhaps to prepare the way to a purpose in hand, that all men shall pay by way of subsidy, as if it were done by parliament; and those that refuse, their names to be certified, that other order may be taken with them. This hath quite put down the speech of a parliament for the present, and perhaps the name of it for hereafter. Though the nobility and council went cheerfully on in the former course of benevolence or contribution, some offering largely for the present, some for years, among whom Secretary Naunton rated himself at £200 a year, *à guerra finita*, if he lived so long; yet it was thought it would not hold out, and that it would prove a reckoning without our host. Wherefore it was found requisite to make it a common burthen, that so it might be the better borne.

The Earl of Suffolk grows still in grace, and it was verily thought and said this week, that he should recover the council-table. Thus we see how it please fortune to play fast and loose; and it is likewise thought, that if Sir Thomas Lake had not fallen into this late misfortune of breaking his arm, being otherwise sore bruised and brushed, that he had been in his old *remitter;* so potent are the means and mediation of the Spanish ambassador, as you may partly perceive by this enclosed letter of supererogation, wherein he is more than justified, and which he hath disposed and sent far and near.

Sir John Samms is stept aside and gone for Bohemia, as is pretended, being overladen and ready to sink under the burthen of his debts.

Yesterday, by a pink from Flushing, here came news, that the Princes of the Union had given Spinola a great overthrow, and slain 8000 of his men; and that order was come from the Hague to all the towns, to give God thanks, and make bonfires. If the fellow had seen these rejoicings, or could build his report upon any sound foundation; or that he had not deceived us once before with a

tale, that Count Henry and our forces had slain 2000 of Spinola's men, sent to intercept them in their passage over the Moselle, I could be as glad to give credit to him as any man; for I wish as well to the cause; but I love not to go backward in belief. If it be true now, it will be true still; but howsoever God will do it in his good time.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 4, 1620.

The king came hither on Tuesday, and went away yesterday to Theobalds, on Monday to Royston, and so to Newmarket, till towards Christmas; so little time did he afford to so much business, as depends here upon his presence, besides audience to ambassadors that watch their opportunity.

Yet, in this short moment, he resolved on a parliament, to begin the 16th of January, and hath taken order for a commission, and a proclamation, as it were; two gentlemen ushers to go before it. The commission is to survey all monopolies and patents that are grievous to the commonwealth; the proclamation to give encouragement for a free election of knights and burgesses, and to forbid all recommendation by letters, and, in case any be sent, to return them to him or his council.

We were all mistaken in the attorney's business; for the king will have it proceed, by all means, upon Wednesday next. And those that were so forward upon so little warrant, in the course that was taken, had little thanks: so that, it seems, he hath gotten nothing by this delay and submission, but to show that those who insult most over other men's misery, are commonly most dejected when it concerns themselves. If he be removed, it is very likely the solicitor is to succeed him, the recorder to be solicitor, and Heneage Finch to be recorder. It seems we live under some rolling planet; for it hath been observed that in less than five years most of our principal officers have been displaced or disgraced, as a lord chancellor, a lord treasurer, a lord chamberlain, a lord admiral, a master of the horse,

a secretary, a master of the wards, a lord chief justice, and an attorney-general.

We speak of another rumour likewise 'twixt this and Christmas, though not of that kind, as the lord chief justice to be lord treasurer; the Lord Hobart to be lord chief justice of the King's Bench; and Sir James Lee to succeed in the Common Pleas; and one Pye, or George Rooke, to be attorney of the court of Wards.

Sir Clement Edmondes was sent with a sergeant at arms into Norfolk, to fetch up one Sir Edward Carver, a recusant, upon suspicion or surmise that he should be treasurer of a collection among the papists for the emperor. How the matter will fall out, I know not; but it will be verified, that there were prayers for his good success, as likewise many masses to that purpose in a new prison here, belonging to the high commissioners, where divers priests are and have much resort to them by connivance; so that, upon search, there were more than forty rich capes found, besides multitudes of books, and other of their trumpery.

One Dr. More, that goes for a physician, but suspected to be a priest, was committed, on Tuesday last, about the same business, but released on Thursday morning, whether by his own innocency, which could hardly appear in so short a time, or in favour of the Spanish ambassador, to whom he is very near and dear, or else in regard he is physician to the Marquis Buckingham.

You are like to have Sir Dudley Digges shortly, who tells me these people have at last remembered you and themselves, and taken order to the value of £200.

John Chamberlain, Esq. to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 9, 1620.

Your lady is in great deliberation and suspense what to do; whether to make towards you by the first occasion, or to expect you here, whereunto she is animated by the advice of divers your good and great friends. For mine own part, I know not what to wish, unless I were thoroughly acquainted with all the reasons that proceed from the *primum mobile* that must be followed. But if, upon

secondary cause and pretences, it were good to descant upon it, and foresee how it will agree with the harmony of your present and future fortunes. For the season of the year, and the short limitation of your abode, considered, besides the present necessities we are in, makes me think your coming cannot be greatly available at this time, unless you bring *aliquid novum aut magnum*, that may seem to require your personal presence, in which case likewise I would wish you to have sufficient warrant, and not to rely too much upon private letters. For I cannot forget Sir Thomas Bodley, that overthrew himself and his fortunes upon such concerning. But I hope you will excuse this boldness, and impute it rather to true affection than presumption, to give counsel to so good gamesters, that am myself but a looker-on.

The king pricked the sheriffs on Sunday, before going to Theobalds, whereof Sir John Sedley, if I may so call him that was never dubbed, is the first and chief of your acquaintance for Kent; one Port, for Essex; Sir Henry Lee, for Buckingham; Sir Richard Batter, for Oxfordshire; and so, for the rest, not worth the remembrance, unless they were of your nearer acquaintance; only I will add, that this course of pricking sheriffs is come to that pass, that it is, in a manner, all one to be presented in the bill as to be out; for there is such a canvass on all sides, that, whosoever is any way capable of it in any shire, must look to himself. Whereby great men's followers make a continual rent or contribution of all gentlemen that seek to avoid it.

One thing I must not forget, that, as I wrote you last year, that it was strange we should complain of plenty; so now I must tell you that plenty hath made us poor; so far forth, that tenants generally cannot pay their rents, and many make suit to give up their leases. The reason we cannot yet reach unto, but that there is a general want of money. But whence that should proceed, let them look to it whom it most imports. Corn and cattle were never at so low a rate since I can remember; wheat at 2*s.* a bushel; barley at 7*s.* a quarter, *et sic de cæteris;* and yet can they get no riddance at that price. So that land

falls everywhere; and, if you have money, you may buy good land at thirteen or fourteen years' purchase. And yet I know three or four noblemen that, within these five days, had letters for a new contribution to the Palatinate, commanding their forwardness, upon the Baron Dhona's solicitation, before the king had declared himself; whereas, now, after he had showed himself in the cause, it is expected they should show the same zeal and bounty, if not more. And the like letters, I hear, are now come to the city, which is surely somewhat unseasonable, having so lately given a benevolence to Bohemia, and the parliament so near at hand, that will require more payments. But *necessitas non habet legem.*

I send you the proclamation for the parliament, penned by the king himself, and would not be entreated by the lord chancellor and lord chamberlain to leave out the words, "wrangling lawyers."[1]

We speak of two new viscounts to be shortly made; Sir William Fielding and John Murray, of the bedchamber, who, it seems, is not altogether so potent as he was esteemed, seeing he cannot protect the attorney,[2] who relied wholly upon him, and for whose sake and service he hath fallen into this misfortune, to his utter undoing. For yesterday, his cause was handled again in the Star Chamber, and the king's council heard to the full what they could say against him; but, for want of time, his answer was put off till to-morrow, when, it is like, he shall know his doom.

The advancing the lord chief justice to be lord treasurer is not so current as it was last week; for the chancellor of the Exchequer is said to be stept in as a competitor, and, having so good a purse, may chance to carry it. Sir James Whitelocke is gone to be judge of Wales and Chester, which place came not to him *gratis*, though perhaps his knightship was cast into the bargain.

[1] He could not conceal his ill humour at being obliged to appeal for assistance to the power he had so often contemned.

[2] Sir Henry Yelverton, who had excited the ill will of Buckingham.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 20, 1620-1.

The French ambassador went hence on Sunday morning, having sent away the most part of his train two days before, being himself such a fresh-water sailor, that he rather chose to go by coach through all the foul ways, than take the benefit of the river to Gravesend; and endures the sea so ill, that, at his coming, he lay sick at Dover two days, before he could recover himself, and was often heard here to say, that he would give a thousand crowns that he were well over. He was followed to Rochester by divers shopkeepers of the Exchange for satisfaction of wares delivered to some of his followers, to the value of £400. How they sped, I heard not; but perhaps he thought that might be abated, having bestowed £1000 or £1200 among them. The Lady of Doncaster presented him with two vest coats and petticoats for his wife, which were said to be extraordinary fair and rich.

On Tuesday, the lord steward, lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and other lords, in the presence of the knights and burgesses of the city and others that were called into the higher House, prorogued the parliament again till the 30th of this present month.

On Wednesday, the king went to Theobalds, where he means to continue till towards the end of the week. Presently after his departure, Secretary Naunton was commanded to keep his chamber or his house, and suspended from meddling in any public business. Some add that Secretary Calvert was then sent to search his papers, and fetch his seals from him. How far this is true, I know not; more than that Secretary Calvert went to him. Many surmises there be, touching this alteration; but the most probable, in my judgment, is that there was some secret intelligence 'twixt him, the Baron Dhona, and others, about the business of Bohemia, with divers writings and remonstrances that are not allowed, about which the Baron Dhona himself, they say, hath been in question, and it is doubted some others may follow.

Some will needs ascribe this disgrace to the working

and potency of the Spanish ambassador; but it is not likely, unless perhaps Sir Thomas Lake should succeed, and be put in his old *remitter*, which some harp upon, but I cannot believe. Neither will I conceal that the voice and bruit runs generally 'twixt yourself and Mr. Packer; to which case, for my part, as the world goes, I know not what to think nor what to wish; but leave it to the disposition who doth all for the best.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.[1]

London, February 2, 1620-1.

I hear much good of his majesty's speech in parliament, on Tuesday, which was of many particulars. I will only give you a taste of three branches; of the monopolies, of the Palatinate, and of the match with Spain.

For the first, I hear it was, that all patents were ever pretended to be without the hurt and grievance of the subject; but [if they] look which or how many of them shall seem to be otherwise, they should be recalled.

Then, for the Palatinate; that his majesty would first seek to recover it by all fair means, yet not with cap in hand (which whosoever doth will be denied), but with his sword in his hand; and, if he could not so have it, yet he would, God willing, have it by main force, or it should cost the dearest blood of himself and his son Charles.

Lastly, for the match, and his religion, which some called in question, he protested to be firm and constant in his religion, and would not match the prince but for God's glory, and the advancement of religion, and the good of the State. Neither that, in matching his son, would he decline a whit from anything that he had formerly written

[1] A member of the family of Sir John Mead, of Loft's Hall, Essex. He was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and was elected provost of Trinity College, Dublin, on two several occasions, but declined the honour, contenting himself with the title of chaplain to Archbishop Laud, by whom he was much esteemed for his scholarship, which also obtained for him the notice and esteem of many other eminent men. This assisted him in procuring constant intelligence of what was going on in England and elsewhere, which he regularly forwarded to his friend and kinsman, Sir Martin Stuteville, of Dalham, Suffolk. The name of the writer of the present letter, and in many other instances, is not preserved, but he was most likely Dr. Meddus, who was Mr. Mead's regular London correspondent.

and sent; [they might] trust unto that; but yet, that they must give him leave to treat as a king.[1]

It is said that Mr. Scot,[2] a minister, of Norwich, is found, or supposed, to be the author of "*Vox Populi*."[3]

There is a talk that Sir Robert Naunton shall be restored.

John Chamberlain, Esq. to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 3, 1620-1.

The Thames is now quite frozen over, so that people have passed over, to and fro, these four or five days; but not so freely as in the great frost; for the winds and high tides have so driven the ice in heaps in some places, that it lies like rocks and mountains, and hath a strange and hideous aspect. It hath been seldom seen that this river should be twice frozen over in one winter; and the watermen are quite undone to lose the benefit of term and parliament both.

This term hath brought forth a new attorney, Sir Thomas Coventry; a new solicitor, Mr. Heath; and a new recorder, Mr. Shute, who was once before refused, but now so urged that they could not put him off. No doubt, he will stick to them till they be all weary of him; for he is not like to be removed. The reason of Heath's preferment and his is said to be the saving of seven or eight hundred pounds a-year to the Lord of Buckingham out of Roper's office in the King's Bench, which was paid them, in regard it was held in their names.

On Thursday, Sir James Lee was made lord chief justice, and, about this time, is going to the Hall, with all solemnity. The speech is, he should marry in the kindred of the Countess of Buckingham, and that young Sir Thomas Lake should have Mrs. Skelton, one of her nieces. In truth, she is to be commended for having such care to

[1] These protestations and representations were notoriously untrue, but the king was intent on getting a supply of money from the Commons, and endeavoured to make his speech as agreeable to them as possible.

[2] Thomas Scot, who was bachelor of divinity of the University of Cambridge. Wood., Fasti Oxon., vol. i., coll. 26.

[3] A pamphlet had just been pubished, under the title of "*Vox Populi*; or, News from Spain, translated according to the Spanish copy, which may serve to forewarn both England and the United Provinces how far to trust to Spanish pretences."

prefer her poor kindred and friends; and a special work of charity it is to provide for young maids, whereof there be six or seven more, they say, come to town for the same purpose.

The parliament began on Tuesday, with the greatest concourse and throng of people that hath been seen; so that there was some hurt done by the breaking of two scaffolds, and otherwise. The king went on horseback, and was very cheerful all the way; and from the church was carried in a chair to the Parliament House, being so weak in his legs and feet, that it is doubted he will find little use in them hereafter, but be altogether *perditus* that way. His speech lasted above an hour, though he commended brevity very much; but he had so many heads to pass through, that he could not be short. We expect it in print, though, by that I have heard, there are divers passages in it that persuade the contrary, or, at least, are like to be omitted.

Sergeant Richardson was chosen speaker, but seemed to take it so unwillingly, that seeing no excuse would serve the turn, he wept downright. This morning, he makes his oration before the king in the Upper House.

On Wednesday, the convocation began in Paul's, where the *concio ad clerum* was made by Dr. Bowles,[1] who performed it so so. There was a fair assembly of bishops and prelates, and among them the Archbishop of York,[2] to my seeming, looked almost as well and as fresh as he did the last time I saw him, which I think is a dozen years ago. He lies at Bedford House, and came up with his wife in very good equipage, attended by fifty horse.

The last week, Viscount Haddington was created Viscount Kingston, and Earl of Holderness in Yorkshire; and the Lord Norris, Viscount Thame, and Earl of Berkshire; and they two led the rank of earls in riding to the parliament, being seconded by the Earl of March and Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Cambridge. On Saturday,

[1] John Bowles, D.D., dean of Salisbury, 1620, and bishop of Rochester, 1630. He died 1637.

[2] Dr. Tobie Matthew.

the lord chancellor[1] was created Viscount St. Albans, with all the ceremonies of robes and coronet; whereas the rest were only done by patent; and yet, for all these special favours, the king cannot forbear sometimes, in reading his last book, to say, that it is like the "peace of God, that passeth all understanding." Secretary Naunton stands still in suspense; and, if we hear not of him within these two or three days in parliament, we shall give him gone; yet his friends stick to him, specially the Lord of Doncaster.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, by the king's appointment, was questioned upon some points, before three or four lords; but I hear he gave so good satisfaction, that on Sunday he kissed the king's hand, and stands upright as before.

If Secretary Naunton be not redintegrated the sooner, we shall have a world of competitors for the place. For, since I wrote last, I hear of a number of new candidati named; as, Sir Clement Edmonds, Sir Richard Weston, Sir John Suckling, Mr. Gage, Toby Matthew's dear friend, though most say he is rather reserved for that place about the Infanta; and lastly, though in general of all, most likely, Mr. Cottington, or the Lord Digby, who is now making ready to go to the archduke, to see if the Palatinate may be restored by fair means; otherwise, we shall do God knows what.

Your commissioners, or ambassadors from the States, had audience on Sunday, and delivered their message, as I hear, aloud; but committed a supine error in delivering the prince's letters to the king, and the king's to the prince, if it be true that is reported.

The author of *Vox Populi* is discovered to be one Scot, a minister, bewrayed by the printer, who thereby hath saved himself, and got his pardon, though the book were printed beyond sea.

My Lady Smith came to town this day sevennight, to whom, without much ceremony, I imparted my Lady Carleton's letter to Sir B. R.,[2] whereby she might see how well both wished her. But she dares not avow these superlative commendations it pleases your lady to

[1] Bacon. [2] Sir Benjamin Redyard.

bestow on her. But, letting pass such like compliments, she left it to my discretion, whether the letter should be delivered or no. Whereupon, I sent both the letters to Mr. Locke, who, I think, hath delivered them, though I have not seen him since. And so I thought best to put it to the making, and let nature work on both sides, for at the worst there cannot come so much harm as there may come good by the motion. My lady's daughter Tredway hath found out a good husband, one Stafford, a scholar of Oxford, about twenty-seven years old; but of a very good estate and towardliness, though the match were made without the consent of his friends, he being yet a ward.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 9, 1620-1.

Our bishop,[1] they said, is dead, or dying.

On Sunday next, Dr. Usher is to preach before the whole lower house, at the Temple, where they will receive the communion; none to be absent under pain of punishment. The committees in parliament have, by this time, given their opinion concerning an act made against papists.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carlton.

London, February 10, 1620-1.

I know the eyes of all Europe are now upon us and our parliament; but I pray God it fall not out that *parturiunt montes;* for they undertake so much business at once, that it will be hard *demêler* so many *pièces.* They began rightly, with religion (*à Jove principium*), and took order, that on to-morrow they should all receive the communion together; but there was some difference as to place, and person to preach. Westminster church, or St. Margaret's, were propounded, and Dr. Usher,[2] an Irishman, to make

[1] Dr. John King. He did not die till the 30th of March following; he had attained the age of 62.

[2] Soon afterwards Bishop of Meath; subsequently, primate of Ireland: an able prelate, who greatly distinguished himself in the service of James and his successor. He survived the troubles of the time, dying in 1656, with a reputation for scholarship, founded upon several works illustrative of ecclesiastical history and biblical knowledge, which he had found leisure to write, that will long keep his name in remembrance among the members of his church.

the sermon; but the dean[1] sent them a mannerly message, by three or four of the gravest prebends, that they should be welcome to either of those places; but, seeing they were both under his care, he would take care to provide them an able preacher. But, this not contenting them, they thought upon Paul's, then upon Christ Church, and lastly resolved upon the Temple. But, I hear, the king hath sent to have it done at St. Margaret's, because it was there before.

The next proposition was for freedom of speech; for that, after the last parliament, divers were called in question and committed. And though it were told them there were divers former statutes in force for their assurance, yet they were loth to proceed without the king's warrant. Wherein what answer they have had I know not, for the king is at Theobalds, and comes to town this day.

Another great business they have about settling the House, and clearing the litigious questions about elections; which, indeed, in some cases, are intricate, and will require time to find out the truth. The choice of Mr. Comptroller is questioned, as being a peer of another realm; but is not decided. The Lord Holles's eldest son, and Sir Henry Britton, were put out of the House, after they had been sworn and sat in the House, for some fault in the election; as likewise Sir Thomas Beaumont, for Leicestershire, and Sir Francis Blundell, for the city of Oxford; neither is the choice of Secretary Calvert and Sir Thomas Wentworth for Yorkshire so sound, but it is like to be subject to examination.

The first day of their sitting, Secretary Calvert made a speech for supply of the king's wants, which was thought untimely, before anything else was treated of; yet they concluded, that the grievances and other matters should be considered and handled together with that, and not to outrun one the other. But the difficulty will be, how and where these supplies should be raised; for it is most certain that England was never generally so poor since I was born as it is at this present, insomuch that all com-

[2] Dr. John Williams, then dean of Westminster.

plain they cannot get their rents; yet is there plenty of all things but money, which is so scant, that country people offer corn, or cattle, or whatsoever they have else, in lieu of rent, but bring no money; and corn is at so easy rate as I never knew it at, 20*d.* and 22*d.* a bushel, barley at 9*d.*, and yet no quantity will be taken at that price; so that for all the common opinion of the wealth of England, I fear, when it comes to trial, it will prove as some merchants, which having carried a great show a long time, when they are called upon too fast by their creditors, are fain to play bankrupt. But the strangeness of it is, how this great defect should come, and be perceived but within these two or three years at most. Divers reasons are devised: as some say the money is gone northward, some eastward, and I know not whither; but these, and such like, are delivered in parliament, the chief speakers whereof hitherto are—Mr. Alford, Sir Robert Phillips, Sir Edward Giles, and Sir Samuel Sandys. As for Sir Edwin, he absented himself three or four days at first, perchance to be missed and called for, as he was, having no lawful excuse; but the prime man of all is Sir Edward Coke, who yet carries himself so well, that he hath now a general applause. Yet there was some crossing and contestation 'twixt Secretary Calvert and him at a committee about the Spanish ambassador,[1] who is said to have almost as many come to his mass as to the sermon at St. Andrew's over against him, and there is great complaint of the increase of popery everywhere, and specially of the extraordinary countenance and favour shown him, upon whom, it seems, they all depend; insomuch that the French ambassador complains, that having the same mass, and as good and lawful priests as he hath any, yet few or none of our Catholics come at him. The Spanish ambassador is not ignorant of the ill affection generally borne him, and therefore being, or seeming to be afraid, the king's house at Nonsuch is prepared and trimmed up for him, whither he goes this day, to avoid the fear and fury of Shrove Tuesday.

The prince, with a fair retinue and his guard, went on

[1] Gondomar.

foot on Thursday, through King Street and Westminster Hall, to the higher house of parliament, meaning, he says, to sit often there with the lords. Secretary Naunton appears not yet, neither can I tell what to think of him.

Sam Calvert[1] died lately; and this week Shute, the recorder, enjoying the office not a full fortnight, died a very poor man every way. I hear Heneage Finch is sworn in his place.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, February 10, 1620-21.

I know your desire to hear news of the parliament. Their next meeting after the speech was on Saturday, when Sir Edward Philips made the first motion, to this purpose—that he referred it to the consideration of the house, that before they meddled with anything else, whether it was not needful they should first obtain assurance of liberty of speech, and security that no man should be troubled for anything there spoken, either during the parliament time, or at any time thereafter. His second motion was—that the statute of Queen Elizabeth against recusants (I know not which) might be presently put in execution, and that before they proceeded upon any other matters; for that upon true and certain information he had learned, that 40,000 of them were gathered into the city this parliament time, and some of them such as crawled not out of their doors for many years before. What their meaning was he knew not. His motion was seconded by Sir Edward Gyles, alleging many arguments why he thought both the one and the other to be worthy and needful to be in the first place considered of.

Next followed Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Julius Cæsar, and Secretary Calvert, who, all in order, without once speaking to the first motion, propounded the king's wants and necessities for money, such as could not bear any delay, in regard as well of other employments, as the present and extreme necessity of the palatinate, and therefore

[1] Who seems, from a letter of his to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated March 28, 1605 ("Winwood's Memorials," vol. ii., p. 53), to have been in Secretary Winwood's service.

[it was] fit a supply should be first concluded of, before anything else was proceeded with, for then they should have better leisure to consult of other matters.

When they had all thus spoken, another (I know not his name) rose up and said, that he thought the order of the house was not observed, which was, that every one should [attend] to that which was first propounded, and not every one to make new motions, for that were the way to confusion, and spending of much time to little purpose. And this was all that was done on Saturday.

The next day they met, which I think was on Monday, Secretary Calvert begins to speak, that his majesty thought the first motion for obtaining liberty of free speaking was very unreasonable, because it was to question that which was always granted to be due, and never yet called in question;[1] and, for the second that it was most fit his present necessities should be considered of, and a means of supply concluded, before anything else was done. To this Sir Edward Gyles,[2] I think, said in reply, that if the subsidy must first be done, the parliament would be as good as done also.

In conclusion, the business was referred by that House to sixteen commissioners, whereof Sir Edward Philips and Gyles were two, Sir Edwin Sandys another; who being a burgess chosen, durst not come into the parliament, and was therefore (as is thought) chosen a committee, that he might be brought in.

This is all I hear; besides that I forgot to tell you, that Sir Edward Gyles should likewise say that, though the privilege of the House for liberty of speech was not questionable; yet former experience had taught them to think a more special security needful. If he that told me, or myself in telling you, shall commit any solecism, I hope you will not impute it [to aught but my ignorance], knowing that these are things altogether out of my experience.

It is reported besides from the same, that the States' ambassadors spake with the king, I think at Theobalds,

[1] What took place at the close of the last sessions was pretty strong proof to the contrary.

[2] Member for Totness, Devonshire.

and desired audience; to which his majesty answered, he would hear them privately. But they told him their commission was otherwise, namely, to deliver their message to his majesty wheresoever they should find him, and that publicly; whereat the king was very much displeased, as seemed by that he uttered; then they told him, if they could not obtain it, they were to return home again. Yet at length they had a day of audience appointed them, wherein they are said to have delivered their message to this effect:—

First. To signify to his majesty that, whereas their truce with Spain was to end in April next, they were firmly resolved never to renew it any more with that perfidious, faithless, ambitious, cruel nation.

Secondly. But whereas there had been so ancient and faithful an amity between his majesty's predecessors and themselves, and that so much strengthened and renewed by Queen Elizabeth, and since continued by his majesty, they were desirous to have the same now at this present renewed and confirmed; which done, they would not only approve themselves for true and faithful confederates, but would be ready to venture both their bodies and their estates for his majesty, and his son after him, as often as occasion required; and for the present would engage themselves, not only for the recovery of the palatinate (which they said they made no question of), but also for restoring his son-in-law to the kingdom of Bohemia, unto which he had been most justly elected, and from which he had been most unjustly driven.

Thirdly, Moreover that they had sent, or were sending, their fleet to the West Indies, so to bridle the King of Spain, that if his majesty would join with them, he should not doubt but to treat with the King of Spain on such conditions as he wished, within a small time.

And lastly, they added, they would not be taken to propound either as supplicants or suitors to his majesty, or out of any fear, but only as a remonstrance proceeding of their love, for they thanked God, they neither needed, nor did fear, the greatest monarch in the world. They have not received any answer: yet some there are, it seems, who are so well affected to their motion, that they could

wish their entertainment and lodging were as well provided for as Don Gondomar's.

Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, had of late devised and put forth a picture of the powder treason, which he was sent up for by a pursuivant, upon Don Gondomar's complaint and suit, who says his master was dishonoured, and abused by these pictures. It is said he is in the Fleet. I had almost seen the picture, and sent it to you. The Pope sits in a council with a cardinal on one hand, and the devil on the other; and some layman with a feather in his cap. The Parliament House is pictured, and Fawkes therein with his lantern, very busy about his work. Over it in heaven is a great eye, (signifying Divine Providence) which darts its beams down into the cellar, where Fawkes is; all is adorned with verses, and such like devices. The other is the flying of the Spanish fleet, and ours pursuing, and such like. Thus much I had from one that saw it.

Scot, of Norwich, who is said to be the author of "*Vox Populi*," they say is now fled, having, as it seems, forenotice of the pursuivant.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, February 17, 1620-21.

I wrote in my last that the States' ambassadors required public audience according as their commission was. I hear since that it was to the body of the kingdoms assembled in Parliament, where they have delivered their message, &c. They say also that the king sent for the Lower House to Whitehall, and made another speech unto them.

The Act of Parliament against the Papists, the execution whereof was referred, as you heard, to the committee to advise of, was, as I hear, made that no papist, during parliament time, should come within ten miles of the city. I am told, moreover, that it was agreed that the subsidies and grievances should pass together, and that there should already pass two subsidies and a fifteenth, upon two conditions, which his majesty hearing of should say he was sure one of the conditions would be against the papists; but let them do with them what they would.

One Worsley, a mad fellow, a Catholic, who, some years since, would have stabbed my Lord of Canterbury in his gallery, and would have done it had not his secretary come in by chance; and was some years in prison for it, and afterwards banished, but was of late come home again. This fellow, on Candlemas-day, at night, sent a letter from the Blue Boar, within Aldgate, to Sir John Lentrope's lodgings, in Holborn; the pretence, because in his examination being asked what friends he had, he had named Sir John Lentrope, which Sir John took very ill, it being nothing so, but only he was somewhat a kindred to Ga. Lentrope, his cousin's wife. Within this letter were enclosed two others, in one whereof was a most bitter invective against the archbishop; in the other, a terrible treason against the king, not fit to be related. Sir John went presently to the Earl of Southampton, and showed it to him; and his eldest son coming home upon the Tuesday, by chance understood that this Worsley was then in his cousin Lentrope's, the Catholic's house, and went presently with his brother, who told me this, and apprehended him.

Dr. Usher, whom you hear should preach before the Lower House, is an Irishman, whom the king hath new made bishop,[1] a wonderful antiquary, a great scholar, and a man esteemed of great integrity and devotion. I am told that he was appointed by the parliament to preach; and some say his text given him, or theme intimated by them. Howsoever, he preached not thus; but both his preaching and the communion were put off, by order of the king, till the Sunday after, (to-morrow) and the place to be Westminster. In the mean time, it was on foot for the Dean of Westminster, Dr. Williams, to preach, and not Usher; but with some ado, they say, Usher still continues, and is expected to-morrow, though the dean was so discontent, that he denied, as some say, to permit the communion in Westminster: but I suppose he will be otherwise advised. Methinks, if Usher preaches, when I consider all circumstances, it should produce some novelty.

I am told there was not long since, (I suppose about

[1] Of Meath.

new-year's-tide) a play before his majesty, wherein there was a Puritan brought up, having long asses' ears, who should speak after this manner:—"Is it now a time to give lists, and make merry, &c.? This should be a time of fasting and prayer, when the Church of God is in so great affliction in Bohemia and Germany, and other places; and not of masqueing and music, &c."

I will not believe this was entertained with applause; and yet I am told so.

It is strange to hear how contrarily men of the same affections and desires are carried, since the beginning of the parliament: some full of hope, and some big with fear, even concerning the same matters; but God will dispose of all things, as it seems good to him.

I was told yesterday, that the Bishop of Durham[1] had been quoted in some men's speeches in the Lower House, by the name of "that irreverend bishop."

I suppose you have heard that Sir Thomas Redmont, one of the knights for Leicestershire, is put out of the House; and some others also: I know not whether from some default in their elections, or some other cause. But there is great question about Sir Henry Cary chosen for Hertfordshire, whom the king hath late made a viscount in Scotland, viz., Viscount Falkland; whereupon is controverted whether he should be of the Upper House, or Lower House, or neither. Some say they shall choose again in Hertfordshire; and others, that the House will bind him to continue amongst the Commons, as he was elected, which it seems he is unwilling unto.

I sent you, by Mr. Thomas, Mr. Ward's table, or picture. I hear he is but in the pursuivant's house.

Whether the Bishop of London be living, or dead, we cannot hear certainly; some say there is some hope he may live, though all men thought him dead the last week.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, St. Matthias's-day, February 25, 1620-21.

I hear that the parliament have at length concluded

[1] Dr. Richard Neile.

to grant his majesty two subsidies, freely and without condition, thereby hoping to find him the more favourable and gracious to grant what they desire. This, therefore, having passed, they proceeded to frame their petition, which consisted of five particulars. I cannot learn exactly what they were all; but I hear that one of them was that the 100 pieces of ordnance might not go for Spain. Another, that the papists, according to the statutes, might be banished, ten miles from the city during the parliament. Third, that the Jesuits and priests might be better cooped up. One tells me that a fourth was that Don Gondomar might also, this time of the parliament, lie at Nonsuch. What the fifth should be, I cannot learn.

Whilst these petitions were read and argued in the lower house, and especially those concerning the Papists' banishment, and their and the Jesuits' constraint, spoken for by so many, at last stands up one Shepherd,[1] of Lincoln's Inn, a lawyer it is said, who began to speak to this purpose: "My masters, I hear much spoken at every hand against the Papists, and cannon's shot provided against them, but never a word spoken against the Puritans, or so much as a mousetrap proposed for them," &c. But his speech, it seems, was so distasteful to the house, that he was turned over the bar, and thrown out of the house.[2]

When the petitions came to be read in the upper house, it is said that Durham (as also the prince's highness and the marquis[3]) should speak unto that of the Papists, that it was too severe, and of dangerous example; lest the King of France, and other princes, should hereby take occasion to imitate the like against the Protestants. But to this answer was made, that those princes did already what they could, or durst do, against the Protestants; and, therefore, seeing they both would and could do their utmost, as the Protestants should not be eased any whit by

[1] Thomas Shepherd, Esq., member for Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire.—Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, p. 178. 1750.

[2] By the journals of the House, it appears that Shepherd was expelled for contending that the Sabbath was the Saturday, and for opposing a bill for restraining abuses of the Sabbath. It is clear that his zeal for the king very far outran his discretion.

[3] Of Buckingham.

our clemency, so could not our severity any way hurt them.

When they were again read, motion was made for alteration of the form, that whereas it was, the Papists should be banished by proclamation, it might be added, or otherwise; but here it was said that this condition would bring all to a nullity, and make it to be fruitless. Beside that, they might not break their faith and promise given to the lower house, which was, that no word or title of the petition should be altered. So it passed here also. And so, upon confidence of the free grant of the subsidies, my lord chancellor, as I hear, was chosen to be the man, who should proffer it, in the name of the whole house, to his majesty, which was done accordingly.

His majesty, therefore, upon Saturday last made a speech unto the house, accepting their grant of the subsidies very graciously, in such manner that they hoped their petition had also been acceptable, and should have been forthwith granted. But, in conclusion, his majesty wholly denied them; and, in particular, said to that of the Papists, that he would not be an example of such severity to other princes; for that, thereby, the French king might also take the same course, to banish all the Protestants from Paris, &c. And to that of the ordnance which were to go for Spain, he said that he had already given his promise, and could not alter it.

To this purpose his majesty is reported to have spoken, and that with much vehemence. And besides concerning Shepherd, that he would not question their wisdom for what they had done, as supposing they were able to give a good account thereof; but this much he must let them know, that he would have them strike as well on the right hand as on the left, the Puritan as well as the Papist.

I am told that upon Tuesday there was another petition tendered to his majesty from the upper house, whereunto thirty-three of the nobility had subscribed their names, and resolved altogether jointly to prefer it to his majesty, as the surest way to prevent the danger which might come to any in particular, in case his majesty should be offended. What their petition was I could not hear. Howsoever, the

king would not give them admittance to his presence, but commanded them they should deliver their petition to the privy council to be considered of, which they refused to do; alleging that they accounted themselves at this time not to be inferior, or in any way subordinate to his privy council, but above them; and it was without example, and not agreeable to the laws of the kingdom, for the privy council to have the examination or cognizance of matters of Parliament, which is the highest court in the kingdom, and not inferior to any other. At which answer his majesty was highly displeased, and redoubled his commandment; but they would not obey. Whereupon he sent the prince unto them, and commanded them to deliver it unto him.

Then they desired some time of consultation; which done, they told his highness that, if he would make open protestation unto them that he received it not as, or in manner of, a privy councillor; and would promise, upon his honour, not to deliver it unto any but his majesty's own hands; and, besides, undertake to bring them all to his father's presence, they would then deliver it unto him: otherwise not. When these conditions would not be entertained, nor they otherwise forego their petition, at last his majesty sends for the foremost of them, which was the Earl of Oxford, the chief peer, and commanded him to deliver the petition, supposing that he had it. But he, according as was agreed amongst them, before he entered, delivered it to the next, and so informed his majesty that he had it not. Whereupon his majesty sends for a second, and so for a third, who, leaving their petitions as before, told his majesty they had it not. Whereat, his majesty, much moved, asked, "Who had it?" Answer was made, the Earl of Lincoln; who, being likewise called in, and answering that he had not the petition, but had given it to the next; at length, they told his majesty it was in vain to send for any more of them, for they were fully resolved not to deliver unless they were admitted altogether. Whereupon, his majesty, wonderfully incensed, sent them all away *re infectâ*, and said that he would come into Parliament, and bring them all to the bar, as he

had before threatened; that he would find him out that had packed them together, and make him smart for it.

These things I am told by such as come from London on Wednesday; who tell, besides, that there passed an act against a patent for all inns, granted to a kinsman of the marquis, who was himself of the house, and was cast out: what for I know not.

That there have been some rough words between my lord chancellor[1] and my Lord North;[2] the occasion, my Lord North's finding fault that my lord chancellor, coming into the house, did no reverence, as he said the custom was. It is said, that there are many bills ready to be put up against my lord chancellor.

I sent you a description of Mr. Ward's picture; now, since having gotten the picture myself, you shall receive it by this bearer. I hear by some that he was released on Monday last, but silenced for preaching any more at Ipswich. It is talked of, that for this trouble he is beholden to a gentleman of your county. I have forgot his name; but he is supposed to be a Papist, and would have been chosen one of your knights, in Mr. Clinch's[3] stead. He hath a son with the Spanish ambassador; and Mr. Ward, I hear some say, should, in a sermon, intimate a religious care was to be taken in such elections, and heed to be taken of such as were of suspected affection to our religion.

There was one Mr. Liddal, the last week, committed by the council, for speaking some words of the Spanish ambassador; and one Mr. Randolph, a justice of the peace in Kent, was likewise committed, about a day and a night, for not expediting provisions for the French ambassador.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 26, 1620-21; Monday.

Sir Francis Mitchel, also Justice Mitchell, were, by the lower house, committed to the Tower on Friday last; the cause, for farming the recognizances for alehouses in all

[1] Bacon. [2] Dudley.
[3] Thomas Clinch, Esq.

the shires of England. His sentence was to go by land, not by water, nor in a coach, which he did perform. He is to acknowledge his fault in writing, upon his knees, to the lower house. He is disjusticed, and made incapable of holding any office hereafter. Hereupon there are base speeches of him, as are not fit for me to write. He kept more w—— than the great Mogul; and some kept him.

The patent for inns is also cancelled; and Mr. Giles Mompesson is turned forth of the house, and fears to be questioned in person. Sir Henry Britton is out, and questioned for his wax, his patent for tillage, &c. Chicheley, the registrar, is questioned for drawing order without motion. What recusants are come up without licence, to be presently returned down; what have, not to stir without licence from the council. It is said the king hath commanded the Spanish ambassador to send to Spinola to withdraw his forces.

We have oft, and straight mastering here.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 1, 1621.

This week, at Winchester, was a poor silly fellow solemnly executed, for saying, if the king should change the religion, he would be the first one to cut his majesty's throat.

No more of Spalato, though some buzzing to-day, as if he were gone, or should go, to the Tower.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, March 3, 1620-21.

As for Parliament news, all letters professed they would have nothing to do with it; yet, on Tuesday, a friend of mine received something, which I have added to the end of the enclosed. Neither have I anything more to add, unless I should tell you vulgar talk, for I account no better of such I hear in that kind. Only this much, it was expected that his majesty should come to the Parliament House on Monday. Whether he did or no, we

hear not yet. And it was reported from London, on Saturday, that Sir Edward Coke had spoken much concerning monopolists, and that he had taken much pains to be truly informed concerning them; that he had found there were two thousand monopolies; that their yearly revenue came to £400,000, of all which there was but £400 paid into the Exchequer; that some of them were in the hands of base fellows, and the rest of them bestowed upon such as had never deserved anything, either of the king or kingdom. Whence it would be more tolerable, if they were given by way of reward to such as had deserved well of the public, that so the detriment that came to many might be recompensed by such a desert as most had been partakers of. When he had thus spoken, some, it seems, whom it more nearly concerned, asked whether it were fit that subjects should take upon them to prescribe their king, how, and upon whom, he should bestow his favour and benefits. To which Sir Edward answered: "I hope every one that says, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' does not prescribe God Almighty what he shall do; so we speak of these things as petitioners to his majesty, and not as prescribers."

Since my last, I saw a copy of the five particulars of the petition of the parliament, for the better execution of laws against Jesuits, papists, and recusants. I was too lazy to copy it out; but the marrow is this. 1st. All recusants to be banished from London, according to the laws, and to be confined within five miles of their dwelling-places; to recall all by-past licenses; and that they presume not hereafter to repair any more to London, or to the king's or prince's court, wheresoever, or within ten miles of London. 2. That justices of the peace should disarm them in every place, take away munition, gunpowder, &c. 3. That none of the king's subjects should hear mass, not so much as in any foreign ambassador's house, as being of late suffered, to the great scandal of all well-affected subjects. 4. That the laws against Jesuits and popish priests might be put in execution. 5. That his majesty would command all judges, ecclesiastical and temporal, to see the laws of the realm against popish

recusants executed severely; and that convenient expedition might be given to any that will reform.[1]

Hereby it appears, that these two particulars, of the ordnance and Gondomar, whereof I wrote in my last, were no part of this petition; but, if they were not at all, they were but as by-matters.

Some affirm, that his majesty granted these petitions for the substance and the main; but, as for the particulars and manner of proceeding, and other circumstances, he would reserve those unto himself, to take order for as he should think fit. For they desired, amongst other things, that all might be done by proclamation.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 9, 1620-1.

It is like you have heard that, by the sergeant-at-arms's negligence, Sir Giles Mompesson is escaped this day sennight in the evening, and not yet heard of that I know. On Sunday, came out a proclamation for his apprehension, whereunto I wish three particulars had been added; his description, some heavy punishment to the abettors of him, and a good reward to them that should discover him, and be the means of his apprehending.

Yesterday, the Lords and Commons met in the afternoon, to consult what punishment to inflict upon the monopolists, and the referees,[2] who are in chiefest fault, and what to be enacted for prevention of the like in time to come. But I hear not yet what has been done therein.

On Saturday, Sir Lionel Cranfield, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edward Sackville, and Sir Robert Phillips were sent to the Tower, there to examine Sir Henry Yelverton, and Sir Francis Mitchell, as having been referees in some of these monopolies. Sir Robert Phillips made report thereof to the House; and it is muttered, that Sir Henry Yelverton acknowledged the things were against his mind;

[1] The Catholics complain of the intolerance of the House of Commons; but, unfortunately, the Protestants had been taught this lesson in the preceding century, from the Catholics under Mary: the gunpowder treason, too, had excited this severity.

[2] Those to whom the king referred the petitions, to consider whether they were fit to be granted.

yet was, out of fear, by threats, forced to allow of them against his judgment. Many are in question hereabouts; and divers imprisoned, and more, I think, will be, not unworthily.

On Wednesday last, the clergy gave freely unto his majesty three subsidies; the first to be due at May-day, the other at six months. My share thereof, I being of old over-deeply rated at £32 lands, will be £18. If knights and gentlemen were so cessed as we are, the laity's subsidies would be trebled.

Sir Edward Conway, Sir Richard Weston, and Mr. Dickinson, returned from their long embassy, on Saturday last, and to-day, it is said, Mr. Dickinson sent to the Lord Digby, to have a present answer, or forthwith to return without it.

There is a Pole ambassador[1] arrived, for aid, as the report goeth, against the Turks; but his master should not have first and last aided the emperor with 30,000 Cossacks, against the King of Bohemia.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

March 10, 1620-1.

It is certain that Mompesson is escaped, and a proclamation against him, that wheresoever you shall find him, you shall deliver him to the lieutenant of the Tower. He was delivered to the keeping of a sergeant-at-arms, who, for looking no better to him, is put from his office, and imprisoned.

The parliament, as was spoken, would have proceeded against his life (so should he have fared as Empson and Dudley, in Henry VIIIth's time), and think themselves much contemned, and much derogation to befal their court by this escape. It is talked also at London, that he should allege for himself that he was but an instrument. Whereupon, the marquis, whose kinsman he is, should write a letter to the Lower House, excusing himself by his youth and inexperience at that time he dealt in that business; viz., the patent for inns.

[1] The son of the Waywode of Sendomiria.

This, moreover, is reported for certain, that Dr. Evans's preaching on Sunday was sennight on Genesis, xlix. 5. "Simon and Levi, brethren, instruments of cruelty in their habitations, &c. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath, for it was cruel," &c. And hereupon digressing, to show the Spanish cruelties in the West Indies, was, for it, by the lords of the council, committed to the Gatehouse.

I saw it written from London, and hear it is also there spoken, as though Dickson, the late lord chief justice's, and now the lord treasurer's man, was, or should be, questioned in parliament, for divers foul matters, &c. Also, that four masters, I think, of the chancery. And they talk at London, that my lord chancellor should move the king for his protection for himself; who answered, that he could do him no good; but he would see they should do him no wrong; and, for the rest, he hoped he would acquit himself, and prove an honest man.

They talk at London, that Shepherd should threaten to come again into the House, by his majesty's letters; whereupon, they expect him with resolution to give him such a censure, as hath not been ordinary.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 16, 1620-1.

Our parliament (blessed be God for it) doth still move more nobly. On Saturday, they finished the act for subsidies, and appointed a committee of twenty-four lords, besides the prince's highness, and forty-eight of the Commons as well, to censure all abuses, by monopolies and other misdemeanours in some courts, and to make an act for the prevention of such like in future, as I hear. On Monday, it is said, his majesty sent the lord marquis unto them, with a gracious and comfortable message of thanks for their endeavours, and encouragement to proceed therein. After, by leave obtained from the lords of the Upper House, it is said, he thanked them in his own behalf, commended their course, was glad to find, by their industry, the wrong done unto the king and state by the patentees,

and those to whom patents had been referred. And that that father who had begotten two sons, his brethren, to be grievances to the commonwealth, the said father had begot a third son,[1] that would further their punishment: and that now, learning the good benefit of a parliament, he should ever stand for the after having of a parliament.

Yesterday, I hear, the prince told Sir Edward Coke that he had done good service unto the king and state, and one stepped up, wishing all might give him public thanks for it, which they did.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, March 17, 1620-1.

There are a thousand petitioners daily attending about the Parliament House, but cannot be heard till the matter of monopolies be ended. The committees for that business are six, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr. Crew, Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Finch, Mr. Hakewell, and Sir Edwin Sandys; every one of these having his task appointed him. Sir Dudley to propound; Mr. Crew to lay open the grievance; Sir Edward Coke to inform the House for the law, former precedents, and by what course of law to prevent this mischief for the future, &c. But there was means found by some so to employ them in other matters, that they should have little time to look to the business to which they were appointed; and on Saturday, were called upon unprovided, where, though they were not provided as they would have been, Sir Dudley, who, they say, never lacks of speech, propounded the grievance very sensibly for the general; and Mr. Crew began to second indifferent well for the particular, though they had not then their evidence ready as they would, until the clock struck eleven, and one of the lords admonished the House it was dinner-time; and so they broke up and appointed them another day.

The marquis hath two of his brothers questioned in this offence; whereupon, he came into the Lower House and made a speech, acknowledging that himself had been drawn to be a means to further many of these grants, as

[1] This is an allusion to himself and his brothers, who were implicated in these discreditable monopolies.

not thinking them, out of his youth and inexperience in matters of the commonwealth, any way prejudicial thereunto. But now he perceived the contrary; and that, therefore, though his father had two sons questioned for offenders in that kind, yet his father should have a third son, himself, who would be so far from approving or maintaining them in what they had done, that he would be first to subscribe and assent to their condign punishment. He acknowledged also that he had been a great hinderer of calling a parliament, as thinking it prejudicial to the king's prerogative, honour, and profit; but he now also saw it far otherwise; and would now, therefore, expiate that error, by being a means hereafter that parliament should be called more frequently than ever they had been.

My lord chancellor hath many bills put up against him, and he is said to have made a very peremptory speech to the committee, wherein was this passage. That he wondered how the Lower House would or darest go about to question his person or honour, &c.

It is generally affirmed at London this week, that the king sends the parliament wonderful gracious messages, such as hath not been often known. That he will continue the parliament till they are fully satisfied in all things; that they should ask nothing, but he would not be a hinderer to their proceedings in these matters of patents, but would now incite and spur them forward. That they should inflict any punishment upon these offenders that any parliament heretofore had ever given a precedent of; and many such like.[1] And they say there are four or five shrewd precedents found, which go very near the *neck*. If all this be true, we are to thank God, and desire him that he would direct all for the good of this people.

It is said also, that there being a proclamation obtained (I have seen it) that all gold and silver lace should be made in England, and none brought from foreign parts—Sir Giles Mompesson had a patent hereof—and to inquire and punish all who brought any from foreign parts, and by which means there was £10,000 a-month spent of our own bullion and silver, &c., to make this unprofitable stuff,

[1] This humour did not last long.

to the great diminishing of our silver, whereas the fault was laid upon the East India Company.

Mitchell hath acknowledged his fault very penitently in the Lower House, comparing his sin to the sin of Cain.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 21, 1621.

Our sovereign came hither on Saturday night much better than he had been, God be thanked; brought the prince to the council-board, and there made him president of it; and the Lord Mandeville, his highness's deputy, who, as the muttering is, may perhaps ere long be lord keeper. That night, the Lord Gondomar had a very long audience of his majesty. On the Lord's day, the States had very private audience, three quarters of an hour, not any being there but his majesty and they; his majesty himself shutting the door. That done, his majesty brought them to the door, and there spoke aloud to this effect, "I will have my merchants and yours agree. They would both run headlong to the Devil, but I will do my best to keep them from him." They have been since twice with the lords of the council-board. I now well hope they agree.

It is said the Lord Digby went yesterday by five in the morning for Spain; and it is muttered, as if his lordship had three very large several commissions. The Lord Doncaster is likewise gone, or ready to be gone for France, who is said to stand much for a match with them.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, March 24, 1620-1.

All I have I send you. To the foreign, I can only add sure, that one Mr. Young,[1] a Scottishman, beneficed near Ware, anon by dispensation, for a time preached at Hamburgh to our English, hath returned to his friends about

[1] Thomas Young, M.A., to whom the fourth of Milton's Latin Elegies is addressed, which is mentioned also in the first of the poet's "Epistolæ Familiares," dated March 26, 1625, in which he excused himself for not having written to Mr. Young for three years.

Ware, that he practised before the King of Bohemia at Hamburgh, and in his prayer beseeching God very affectionately for him; the king, when sermon was done, came and took him by the hand, thanked him, and desired him and others to do the like, as he trusted in God shortly to do well; that if our king, his father-in-law, would undertake the protection of the Palatinate, for Bohemia, and the rest, he should, with God's assistance, do well enough, though things at the present were not as might be wished. And though himself were absent now from those parts, yet had he there left behind him, even in Bohemia, that would not suffer things to go as his enemies would have them; and so bestowed upon him a chain of gold with his own image upon it.

For parliament news, I know it is impossible you should be now ignorant what is reported of the great lord chancellor.[1] Strange bills against him; Thursday and Friday se'nnight, the days that shook him, and himself sick in his bed, all swollen in his body, and suffering none to come at him. Some say, he desired his gentlemen not to take any notice of him, but altogether to forget him, and not hereafter to speak of him, or remember there was ever such a man in the world. The seal, they say, was taken from him on Sunday last by the two marquises, and committed to the custody of Sir Thomas Lee (if I mistake not his Christian name), until the king should otherwise dispose of it. Strange to hear, what they talk at London of his former actions, and now of his present sickness. Vanity of vanities—all is vanity! How happy are you at Dalham, that live, as it were, out of the jurisdiction of these great temptations, and walk not upon the dangerous pinnacles of these tottering pyramids of such false happy dignities.

This day is Sir Henry Yelverton to be heard in parliament about some of his referisms. How he will speed, God knows.

My lord treasurer,[2] late lord chief justice, desired the House not to wade into some actions of his; but had

[1] Bacon. The dishonesty of the time had affected him very deeply.

[2] Henry Montagu, created Baron of Kimbolton and Viscount Mandeville, December 19, 1620, and Earl of Manchester, February 5, 1627.

answer that they had not yet gone over *shoes*, but meant, before they ended, to go over *boots* and all.

Sir Francis Mitchell, who, being a very lean-faced fellow, and coming before his majesty, his majesty asked him what news from Bethlem Tabor, telling him he was an Hungarian, and could not but know, &c. Some say he shall ride about, with his face to the horse-tail, with two quart pots about his neck; be quite disknighted and disgentleised for ever, fined and perpetually imprisoned. But others say that his life will hardly go untouched.

It chanced, a little before my lord chancellor was so shaken, as you heard afore, that one of his gentlemen (I think, Bushell[1]) came in the presence of the king, all covered with gold lace, and full of gold buttons, whom his majesty espying so gallant, and all glittering, asked who it was, and was told it was one of my lord chancellor's gentlemen.

"By my soul!" quoth the king, "I have never a servant so gay, with yellow buttons."

"Sir," said one that stood by, "your majesty needs not wonder so much at his yellow buttons, for his master makes such buttons all this parliament time."

"By my soul! he tells me," quoth the king, "that his master (saving your reverence) makes buttons."

If I had not trusted you would sometimes give me leave to be unmannerly, I would not have told you this tale: but I hope you will take me with another, but more to the purpose, and worthy to be related. It is that, there was some Bill lately put up in the Lower House that a little touched the king, and was therefore presently, with general consent, cast out of the House. The king hearing hereof, and having the Bill brought unto him, professed that he had been made believe, by those about him, that his subjects loved him not; but he saw by this how he had been abused; and sent to the parliament to give them thanks, telling them that they should adjourn, and prorogue the parliament, both when, and for how long they should think fit, and continue at their pleasure; conclude

[1] Thomas Bushell, who distinguished himself for his studies in mineralogy, and edited a book of Extracts of Bacon's Philosophical Theory of Mineral Productions. He died in April, 1674.

and do what they would, all should be at their discretion; and that hereafter he would have a parliament once every three years, as long as God granted him to reign over them. Is not this good, if it be true? I have it here by relation. But certain it is the Lords stick wonderfully fast by the Commons, and all take great pains.

Nothing, they say, is to be expected for any preparation for wars, until my Lord Digby returns with his answer from the archduke. We hear he hath been admirably entertained; but this I fear will be all he must look for.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 30, 1621.

On Monday, his majesty went to parliament, and there most graciously signified his acceptance of their loves unto him; which was more than he expected; and also approved of their doings, which he acknowledged to be wisely and temperately done: and that now he studied how and wherein to give them all the content he could; and therefore that there was not any intendment of his whatsoever, nor any affection which he bore to any person how great soever, but that if they should find it prejudicial to the State and commonwealth, he would decline from the same, yea, though it extended to his son Charles: bade them therefore press cheerfully on forward in their well begun course, without the fearing of any man's face: only advised them, for as much as the lord chancellor was a peer of the realm, and a great officer of the kingdom, they would look that the witnesses against him were sufficient, &c. And then departed back to Whitehall.

His majesty being gone, the Lords resolved to go and thank him for his gracious inclination towards them, beseeching the prince to be their speaker; who yielded thereunto. So they went to court into the presence chamber, the prince supported by the two archbishops. When the king was come forth unto them, the prince said, that he was commanded by the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament, there present, to render their most humble thanks unto his majesty for his most gracious favour ex-

tended that day unto them, and in lieu thereof, to present most humbly their bodies, their lives, and their whole estates, to be at his service. This done, the king, having awhile laughed well, said, "Your speaker has troubled me with so much Greek and Hebrew that I cannot understand him. But, whether you have bribed him or no, I am sure your affections have bribed me, as that I shall ever love you." And then iterated all unto them which he had said before.

That afternoon, was Mompesson censured thus: his goods forfeited; his lands, during his life; he fined besides £10,000; degraded of his knighthood, (yet with reservation of his lady's and children's honour) no man to implead or style him by the name of *Sir Giles Mompesson, knight*, but of *Giles Mompesson, knave;* and if he be taken, to be perpetually imprisoned in the Tower. Whereunto, it is said, his majesty hath added perpetual banishment.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, March 31, 1621.

The news of my lord chancellor continues much after that I wrote before: only they say that Sir James Ley supplied his place in the parliament; but the seal was not yet taken from him, though he sent it to the king, as willing to yield up his office: but the king said he would not take it from him; he must go to those that begun with him. But, it is added, that black Dr. Field, Bishop of Llandaff, is in likewise, for being my lord chancellor's broker for bribes; and a letter of his shown where he undertakes to my lord *verbo sacerdotis*, &c.

Sir Henry Finch[1] was last week examined before the high commission, about the book I wrote of, but wonderfully privately. He gave up his answer in writing, which was sent to the king, and expected from him what should be his censure. I thought he had been one of the committees in parliament; but that is Heneage Finch. I mistook.

[1] One of the king's sergeants: author of "Nomotechsia," and "The calling of the Jews"—See p. 250.

Our mayor, and town burgess, was questioned as incapable, by reason of his mayoralty; but they kindly permitted him until the breaking up of this session; and yesterday our town chose a new one, Sir —— Hobart, of some kindred to my Lord Hobart, as I hear.

On Monday, the king came to parliament, where the admirable concord between the Lords, and Commons, and both with the king, and all with one another, was expressed, and admired with unheard-of affection. The king himself, and few there but shed reciprocal tears; the king affirming himself now at length happy, who had been eighteen years enthroned in the kingdom, and had lived to see himself in this present inthronised in his people's hearts; and that which he had long sought for, now at last to find, &c. When the king was gone, the parliament commanded the prince, in all their names, to carry thanks unto his majesty, who being led by the archbishops, and attended by a select company of bishops and noblemen, performed his message with tears, from abundance of joy, telling his majesty that what affection would not suffer the House to do in his presence, they had commanded him now to do in all their names. It is a day worthy to be kept holiday; some say it shall, but I believe them not.

The parliament is adjourned unto the 17th of April; others say but to the 10th. I have sent you a catalogue of the Acts agreed upon in this session, and offered to his majesty to be ratified.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 6, 1621.

I send you here the funerals of the Bohemian affairs, if that be true which the enclosed reporteth.

One of the three whipt 'prentices is dead, as is generally here affirmed by those who have been at London; but thought not so much through the severity of whipping, as the indiscretion of the executioner who, meaning to favour him, by the speedy running of the cart, is said to have tied him too near it, so that he got some blows upon the

breast. They talk also this week there had been a Spaniard beaten in the Exchange, for drawing upon and misusing some gentlemen who, when they had done it, slipped away in the crowd, and are not known.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, April 9, 1621.

I perceive now, that he that told me that he saw the statutes printed, was mistaken, for it is now no more but the two acts for the subsidies of clergy and laity. I dare swear you cannot be long ignorant of them. Only, lest you may not have seen them, I observe, that the act for the laity makes a protestation in the beginning, that there was never any precedent of the like in any former parliament, and humbly desires his majesty, that it may never hereafter be drawn into example, to the prejudice of future parliaments; which is again repeated, with a proviso, at the end of the act.

Upon Thursday, in the former week, my Lord Treasurer, Duke of Lennox, Earls of Pembroke, Arundel, and Dorset, Sir Thomas Edmondes, Sir Fulk Greville, Sir Julius Cæsar, Sir Thomas Coventry, attorney, sat in the Guildhall at London, as commissioners, to appoint assessors for the Subsidy Act. Where my lord treasurer had in his speech these particulars, that Queen Elizabeth had, in the time she reigned, twenty subsidies, and thirty-six fifteenths, so that hereby she received, as it were, for every year of her reign £50,000 per annum. That King James hath had but four subsidies, and never a one worth above £80,000; so that there is never an eighteen years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, wherein her receiving this way did not exceed those eighteen years of King James's about £13,000,000. That nevertheless our king hath expended for wars, for building and repairing forts in Ireland, for reparation of the navy, above £1,700,000; besides, his charges for embassies, and such like, much exceeded hers.

That they should not fill their books with idle names, viz., those who were assessed in other places. That they should not assess poor men high, and the rich low, but

value every man's estate according to their knowledge, and not their own confession; because rich men would seem poorer to escape charges, and poor men be accounted rich, to get credit, &c. That they should not follow former books, because in so long a time men's estates were much altered, &c. If you chance to be a commissioner, these heads will not be unprofitable; they were related to me by one that heard the speech, and observed diligently.

Concerning the disorder, and the whipping chear at London, whereof you have read in the enclosed,[1] I saw on Saturday divers other letters, reporting the cause and manner diversely. But this week I received a more perfect information by a trusty and intelligent friend, a citizen and an eye-witness of a great part thereof, which, because it contains some things since the last week's letters, I will insert it as near as I can remember. He reported it as followeth.

Three 'prentices standing before their master's door in Fenchurch Street, it chanced the Spanish ambassador came by in his litter, whereupon one of the 'prentices said to the other, "Sirrah, knowest thou what goes there?" "Why," answered the other, "what goes there?" Quoth the first, "There goeth the devil in a dung-cart;" which being repeated, and a laugh rising thereupon amongst them, one of the ambassador's company perceiving it, said to the second 'prentice, "Sir, you shall see Bridewell ere long for your mirth." "What!" quoth the third, "shall we go to Bridewell for such a dog as thou?" and therewith gave him a box on the ear, and struck up his heels. Complaint hereof came, ere long, to the mayor, and the matter being examined, though the mayor, as some say, would have been glad they could have excused themselves; but their sentence was to be whipped from Aldgate through London, which on Wednesday, the former week, began to be performed. They were tied to a cart's tail and whipped. At the first, it was not much known what the fault was; but it being soon learned, and notice given, when they came to Temple Bar there were about 300 of all sorts made the rescue, took them from the

[1] See Dr. Meddus's letter of April 6.

cart, and beat the marshal's men sore; and happy it was thought to be that there was little or no resistance made, for there were said to be coming up Fetter Lane and Paul's Chain the best part of 1000, who, seeing the rescue already made, dispersed themselves again. Hereupon, it is said, that the ambassador sends to the lord mayor to know what the government of the city was; and how a man should have remedy that was injured. To whom the lord mayor answered angrily, that he was not to give an account to him of the city government. Hereupon, Gondomar intended to complain to the king, at Theobalds, of the mayor and the city, but was better advised by a Catholic English gentleman to complain only of those who did the injury, lest otherwise things might so fall out, that he might deprive himself of the opportunity of residence within the city. But, as soon as the notice of these things came unto the king, which was on Thursday, he presently takes post from Theobalds, and arrived at London in the evening.

It happened, in the whipping time, that a brewer had offended either in word or deed, who therefore was to be whipped on Friday morning; but the expectation being great, there came command from the council, when he was tied to the cart's tail, to take him away, and suspend the execution; and presently there was news that his majesty was coming to the Guildhall; whither, when he was come, he made a long speech, and threatened to put a garrison into the city, and make them maintain them, if there were no better rule kept, and take away their charter and sword, &c.; but concluded toward the end more fairly, if these things might be amended hereafter. So, upon Saturday, the brewer was whipped, with the sheriffs of London and 100 halberdiers attending the cart; every constable in his precinct, and a strong watch in every precinct, and every householder standing at his door with a halbert: the which continued till three o'clock the next morning.

On Sunday comes forth a terrible and strict proclamation. In this proclamation, as I understand it, the city government is much taxed; and it is strictly commanded that no man, so much as by countenance or look, abuse or

express any irreverence for strangers, especially to ambassadors and their followers. Whosoever looks on, unless he presently apprehends the offender, and draws him to justice, shall be punished as deeply as if he had offended. His majesty will require every misdemeanour in this kind at the hands of every alderman in his ward, and not take disability or ignorance as an excuse.

While the proclamation was reading, a gentleman in the crowd trod upon a Spaniard's foot, who took him a box on the ear. He asking what reason he had for it, he gave him another, and the gentleman took both patiently. This I saw just now in a letter.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, April 17, 1621.

My task is now but small. The adjournment of parliament makes an emptiness of home news; yet I hear the Acts, whereof I sent you a catalogue in my last, are printed, and that they lay upon the bookbinders' stalls on Saturday.

I have seen a letter of my lord chancellor's[1] to the lords of the Upper House of Parliament. He says he is preparing for a higher court than theirs—the court of heaven; that he would fain preserve his honour and his fame unstained, and desires that they would reserve their good opinion till he shall advise with his counsel to make answer; and that they would not be moved at the noise of the number of bills against him, considering he was a judge, and 2000 decrees went through his hands in a year. The Lower House, it is said, was much offended

[1] It is with a sense of deep humiliation we refer to the complete degradation of this great intellect, for though his dishonesty placed him low enough, his meanness on its discovery dragged him still lower. The influence of bad example in the head of the State did much to create that wide spread corruption, which had infused its upas into the atmosphere of so many public offices. Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court; Field, Bishop of Llandaff, and Sir John Yelverton, Attorney-General, shared with Bacon the odium of dirtying their fingers with bribes — in a short time, other great criminals were discovered, denounced, and condemned for the same offence. Had Diogenes looked for an honest man in the court of England in the days of the first James, his success would have been even more problematical than it was in Athens.

that he wrote not to them, as interpreting it, that his great stomach would not vouchsafe to take any notice of them, and to be done out of a degree of contempt. Whereabout were many big words spoken; and Sir Robert Phillips (I think) took occasion to discourse of a parliament, and of the power and name of the House of Commons: proving the name of parliament most properly to belong unto them, as presenting the body of the kingdom.

On Thursday, a gentleman, a merchant who came from London but at seven o'clock that morning, reports confidently for a truth that the King of Spain[1] is dead. That the merchants had letters thereof two or three days before, but durst not publish it till news thereof should come to the court, whither now letters were come, and the courtiers appointed to mourn to-morrow. This may be an occasion of some alteration of present matters. The same gentleman brought the king's last speech, new printed. I read it, but could obtain no more. The king says, that he could never have any House of Commons, that would use him with any respect until now. But this had shown more love and regard unto him, that not only himself had ever yet had, but any of his predecessors ever received, in yielding unto him two subsidies in nature of a free gift and present. That his kingdom had seemed to him, till now, to be the best and happiest governed in the world; which now, with astonishment, he found to be otherwise. He saw it much like unto his coppices, which on the outside seemed thick and well grown; but when he rode into the middle of them, he found them bare, and all bitten. He desired that what he then spake might be put into the records of the House.

I have seen Sir Henry Finch's "The World's Great Restoration, or, Calling of the Jews," and, with them, of all the nations and kingdoms of the earth, to the faith of Christ. I cannot see, but for the main of the discourse, I might assent unto him. God forgive me if it be a sin, but

[1] Philip III. He died March 31.

I have thought so many a day. But the thing which troubles his majesty is this, which I will write out to you verbatim: "The Jews, and all Israel, shall return to their land and ancient seats, conquer their foes, have their soil more fruitful than ever. They shall erect a glorious church in the land of Judah itself, and bear rule far and near. We need not be afraid to aver and maintain, that one day they shall come to Jerusalem again; be kings and chief monarchs of the earth; sway and govern all, for the glory of Christ that shall shine amongst them. And that is it Lactantius saith, lib. vii., chap. 15: 'The Romans' name (I will speak it, because it must one day be) shall be taken from the earth, and the empire shall return to Asia. And again shall the east bear dominion, and the west be in subjection.' In another place: 'Asia and Egypt, all those large and vast countries, the whole tract of the east and south, shall be converted to Christ; the chief sway and sovereignty remaining with the Jews. All nations shall honour them.'"

Some say, the king says he shall be a pure king, and that he is so old he cannot tell how to do his homage at Jerusalem.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, April 28, 1621.

For news, you see what it is, naught, naught: but I hope, over a year or two, we shall begin to hear better; for as yet we see it fatal, that all kings should go downward, and God will have his way, whatsoever we wish or think.

I hear no other but some talk that the States' fleet had taken a prize from the Spaniard of two ships, laden with chests of plate, a-coming for Dunkirk; I know not how many thousands. Thus they talk from London. And they say that Colonel Cecil[1] made a brave speech in Parliament, concerning the want of warlike provision in the

[1] Sir Edward Cecil, created Baron Cecil, of Putney, in 1625: and Viscount Wimbledon in the following year.

kingdom, and the means to redress it; they say, with much approbation.

Sir Lionel Cranfield was a hot man for the Spanish trade in tobacco, insomuch that Sir Edwin Sandys should say, "I am an Englishman, and for England, not for Spain."

They say, my Lord North's brother put up a bill to have justice, and a lawful hearing, against Don Gondomar, for his ship and tobacco; and that he was gone to prison again.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 4, 1621.

On Monday, divers lords were with the lord chancellor. The next morning the seal was taken from him, who, at delivering of it up, said, "*Deus dedit; culpa mea perdidit.*" Yesterday, he was censured to pay to the king, for his fine and ransom, £40,000; imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure; never to sit again in Parliament, nor in any court of justice, or to be in commission, or come within the verge, nor within twelve miles of the court; and escaped degradation narrowly. Sir John Bennet, and others, are like to follow. *Fiat justitia.*

On Tuesday, Floyd, a councillor, steward, and receiver in Shropshire, to the old Chancellor Ellesmere and the Earl of Suffolk, a papist, and prisoner in the Fleet, was censured on Tuesday to ride thrice with papers, and stand in the pillory, and first at Westminster, for saying, "Goodman Palsgrave, and Goody Palsgrave, may, or must go pack their children at their backs, and beg." On Wednesday should have been the first time, but his majesty stayed it.

Yesterday, the king and House met. His majesty thanked them for the care they had of his son-in-law's, daughter's, and grandchildren's honour. If it were in them to censure his prisoner, the censure should be executed; otherwise, there should be a punishment equivalent to that they had set down. Which gave good content.

It is said even now unto me, that Sir John Bennet hath gone to the House to-day, to answer or receive his censure.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Cambridge, May 5, 1621.

Dr. Meddus's letter to Dr. Chadderton,[1] the last week, contained something not fit to be made common. Whereupon I was content to be partaker of so much as he pleased to read unto me, not inquisitive into the rest. I could almost guess, by what I have heard since by others, what were those passages he concealed, or some of them; for I heard that the queen[2] was desirous to come into England, but her father had absolutely forbidden her. That the king should say, that, were it not for the person of his lady, whom he loved above all others, he could have wished he had married a boor's daughter than be as the king of Great Britain.

Dr. Meddus adds, that Sir John Bennet was committed to the sheriffs of London.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 11, 1621.

It is said the prince hath gotten the lord chancellor's fine, and given it him. Sir Francis Mitchell is deprived of honour, authority, and liberty. Floyd is not yet brought to ride, and stand thrice in the pillory. There is question between the Lords and the Commons, concerning the power of the House of Commons alone, without the Lords, which it seems yet hinders the execution: but I hope it will be.

On Monday and Tuesday, as I hear, were above a hundred sworn to be examined against Sir John Bennet, but are reduced to about forty or fifty of the most pregnant. On Wednesday, an act came up from the Commons,

[1] Lawrence Chedderton, master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. He died in 1640, aged 105.

[2] Of Bohemia. Elizabeth, daughter of James.

passed in the said House, against swearing, blaspheming, and drunkenness.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 18, 1621.

On Wednesday was Sir Henry Yelverton censured by Parliament, at 10,000 marks to the king and 5000 to the Marquis of Buckingham, to make his submission at the bar, and to be imprisoned during pleasure. The lord marquis remitted the fine unto him, and offered to join with the lords to his majesty for mitigation of the rest. The witnesses are still in examination against Sir John Bennet, whose censure is like to be heavy.

There are petitions exhibited against two chancellors besides: Dr. Lambe, of Peterborough, and Dr. Cradock, of Durham. The former stands stiffly upon his integrity, yet supposed to be foul; the other is reported as fair to exceed Sir John Bennet, as *he* the late lord chancellor, who is very sick.

The censure of the House of Commons, formerly passed against Floyd, was, on Wednesday, again by both houses of Parliament jointly concluded of, without calling the authority of either into question; and yet this to be no precedent. But I hear not when it shall be executed.

It is said, the Earl of Arundel was yesterday at the bar, and afterwards sent to the Tower, for words used to or against some of the lords.

Dr. Tounson,[1] Bishop of Salisbury, died on Wednesday morning,[2] leaving a very poor widow, and thirteen children; in regard whereof some have charitably moved his majesty, that his brother, Dr. Davenant,[3] might succeed him. But the success is thought doubtful.

[1] Dr. Robert Tounson, who had been fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge; and, in 1617, Dean of Westminster. In July, 1620, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Salisbury.

[2] May 15, 1621.

[3] Dr. John Davenant, master of Queen's College, Cambridge, whose sister was the wife of Bishop Tounson, of Salisbury.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, May 19, 1621.

They say and write that the Hollanders have sent six or eight waggons of their stolen silver to be coined in the Tower. Is it to outbrave Gondomar? or is it their best merchandise? or would they do the Mint a kindness? Gondomar, they say, is sent for home, having a great office bestowed upon him in Spain. He made a feast at Nonsuch, where many of our grandees were, not without observation. This I saw written; but others talk as if Gondomar was afraid to go home, as having been too deep in the old faction, which now go down the wind.

They talk in London, that the King of Spain dying, should charge his daughter, upon his blessing, never to marry with a heretic. And there is a paper going about, wherein are his last words, and, amongst the rest, to his son, that he should make much of his sister, and never leave her till she were an empress: which words folks understand not.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, May 26, 1621.

The news is partly good, and partly bad, for Bohemia and Hungaria. And I fear the worst is true; and doubt the other is false.

We say here, that Dr. Davenant shall be bishop of Salisbury,[1] and keep his livings for two or three years. The revenue of the bishopric, in the mean time, to be, as it were, sequestered for Dr. Tounson's wife and poor children. Some said awhile (I know not out on what humour or grounds), that Dr. Balcanqual should be master of Queen's; but it is said now, that the king will grant them a free election.

[1] He was consecrated to that see November 18, 1621.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 1, 1621.

On Saturday last, the lords of the Upper House added unto Floyd's censure, formerly passed in the Lower House. On Monday, he received part of his punishment; for he rode from Fleet Bridge to the Standard in Cheapside; his face towards the horse-tail, and papers about his hat, bearing this inscription, "For using ignominious and despiteful behaviour, reproachful and malicious words against the Prince and Princess Palatine, the king's only daughter and children." There he stood two hours on the pillory, when he had the K branded on his forehead, and was conveyed to the Fleet. To-day he shall have rid thence to Westminster Palace, there to have stood two hours also on the pillory; thence to have been whipped to Newgate, there to remain in perpetual imprisonment, fined in £5000, and never to bear arms, or come in company of gentle or honest men. But yester evening, it was generally said, the prince had begged of the House the release of this day's punishment, and of the king his fine. But whether true or not, I yet know not.

The Earl of Arundel will not make his submission; therefore, lies still in the Tower; but is supposed will be by his majesty set free on Tuesday next, because on Monday the parliament is to be adjourned, and not anything to be accomplished, to the exceeding great grief of both Houses, and others. Hereupon, they would not proceed to censure Sir John Bennet yesterday, but told him he shall have his liberty, if he can find sureties to be bound with him in £20,000, to appear when he shall be called for. He offered himself and his two younger sons, but were refused. Many others hereby escape, that begun to be called in question.

Sir George Shirley, of Northamptonshire, near to Oxfordshire, disarmed four years ago, had on Tuesday his arms restored unto him, though a great recusant, and of £4000 yearly revenue.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 8, 1621.

On Saturday, the late lord chancellor,[1] and the Earl of Arundel, came forth of the Tower; but the earl was first enforced to write a petitionary letter to the Lords, and afterwards make his submission. But the private difference between the earl and the Lord Spencer, the prince will determine. On Monday, the parliament was adjourned till November 14; but before, by Sir James Perrot's[2] motion, seconded by divers others, a committee set down a notable *declaration*[3], and recorded it; which I hear his majesty so likes, that he hath caused it to be translated into sundry languages, and sent it abroad.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, June 9, 1621.

What hath become of the parliament, I doubt not but by this time Sir Thomas[4] hath informed you. As also of the declaration, or protestation, made of the House of Commons, the 4th of June, being the last of their sitting, on behalf of the king's children, and the general afflicted state of the true professors of the same religion professed by the Church of England in foreign parts; that, being touched with a fellow-feeling of their distress, as members of the same body, they did with one unanimous consent, in the name of themselves, and the whole body of the

[1] After his disgrace, we are told, "He still looked back to the flesh-pots of Egypt, the favours of the court; and, in addition to the restoration to liberty and the remission of his fine, boons which were granted, he solicited with unceasing importunity both a pension and employment. With this view, he continued to harass the king, the prince, and the favourite with letters; he pleaded his former services, he sought to move pity by prayers the most abject, and to win favour by flattery the most blasphemous. But his petitions were received with coldness, and treated with contempt; the repeated failure of his hopes soured his temper and impaired his health; and he died, the victim of mistaken and disappointed ambition, in the fifth year after his disgrace."—*Lingard*, vol. ix., p. 185.

[2] Natural son of Sir John Perrot, lord deputy of Ireland in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He lived on his estate at Harelyton, in Pembrokeshire. He was author of several works, and died February 4, 1636.— *Wood. Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., col. 6056. In this parliament of 1621, he served as knight of the shire for the county of Pembroke.—*Willis's Notitia Parliamentaria*, p. 197, edit. London. 1750.

[3] Rushworth, vol. i., p. 36.

[4] Sir Thomas Holland.

kingdom whom they represent, declare unto his most excellent majesty, and unto the whole world, their hearty grief and sorrow for the same; and did not only join with them in their humble and devout prayers unto Almighty God, to protect his true church, and to avert the dangers now threatened, but also, with one heart and voice, do solemnly protest, that if his majesty's pious endeavours by treaty to preserve their peace and safety shall not take the good effect which is desired (in the treaty whereof they humbly beseech his majesty not to suffer any longer delay), that then, upon signification of his majesty's pleasure in parliament, they shall be ready, to the uttermost of their powers, both with their lives and fortunes, to assist him, so as, by the divine help of Almighty God (who is never wanting to them who in his fear shall undertake the defence of his name), he may be able to do that by his sword, which, by peaceable courses, shall not be effected.

The gentleman which brought a copy of this from London, yesterday, affirmed that, concerning Floyd, which I am loth to believe, until I hear it again; viz., that he said at his branding, &c., that he would have given £1000 to be hanged, that he might have been a martyr in so good a cause. And that a gentleman should affirm, openly, at his riding, that he had injury, and his censure was most unjust. Whereupon, a constable should arrest him for his words, whom he presently run through with his rapier, and then made an escape awhile on horseback, through some streets of the city, but at last was apprehended, and now laid in Newgate. If you hear of it again, you may believe it; but I suspect it, because some who came from London, on Tuesday, could not tell of it.

Dr. Snowden,[1] Bishop of Carlisle, is dead. The like was reported of Dr. Bridgeman,[2] Bishop of Chester; but it is false; and of Montaine,[3] Bishop of Lincoln, which is feared will prove true. Rochester[4] is also very sick, and

[1] Dr. Robert Snowden, who had advanced to the see of Carlisle, in December 1616.

[2] Dr. John Bridgeman, consecrated Bishop of Exeter, in 1619. He was father to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, lord keeper of the great seal.

[3] Dr. George Mountaine, translated to the bishopric of London, 1621.

[4] Dr. John Buckeridge, made Bishop of Rochester, in June, 1611, and translated to the see of Ely, in 1627. He died May 31, 1631.

yet I look not to get a bishopric. London, it seems, is not yet determined of; but Salisbury Dr. Davenant hath for certain.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, June 16, 1621.

I could have sent you the copy of the Earl of Arundel's letter to the Upper House, and the words of his submission; but I feared Sir Thomas Holland had prevented me; and stale news hath no good relish in it. Dr. Beale visits for the Margaret divinity professorship, which Dr. Davenant must, they say, about the commencement.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 22, 1621.

Sir Edward Coke is said to be sequestered from the council board. The Earl of Southampton is committed to Mr. Dean of Westminster,[1] his keeper being Sir Richard Weston. The Earl desires three things of the Lords:— That in regard his lady was much subject unto sudden grief and passion, his letter might be the first messenger of his detainment. 2. That because his son was ready to go to travel, he might first speak with him, and give him some directions, &c. 3. That he might be permitted, in his majesty's presence, to answer all that should be objected against him. The two former were granted, conditionally, that Sir Richard Weston might see the one, and hear the other: which were accordingly performed. The third was not in them to grant, but in his majesty, and therefore put off.

Sir Edwyn Sandys, also, and Mr. Selden, are likewise committed to the sheriffs. Sir Henry Spiller, and Foulis, one of the late patentees for gold and silver thread, it is said, searched Sir Edwyn's study; which done, required the lady's keys, to search her cabinet and boxes, which she readily obeyed, and gave them up with this speech, that she wished his majesty had a key to unlock her husband's

[1] Dr. Williams.

heart, that his majesty might see there was not any thing therein but loyalty.

The rumour goeth that many,[1] both Lords and Commons, are sent for up, and like to be questioned; as also the Lord Scroop, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir Edward Villiers, Sir Richard Weston, Sir Francis Fortescue, are to be, &c.

Mr. Dean, of Westminster, was on Sunday sworn of the council. It is said he is like to be lord keeper, and hath appointed all his officers, though some opposition is like to be.

Yesterday afternoon, there sat a Marshal's Court at the King's Bench, in Westminster Hall. The lord privy seal, the Lord Duke of Lennox, the Lord Marquis of Buckingham, the Earl of Arundel, and the Viscount Doncaster, who saw Sir Francis Mitchel degraded of knighthood, and proclaimed by the heralds, *Francis Mitchel, knave.*

There is a commission for examining of those businesses about these detained: the lord duke, the Lord Marquis Buckingham, the Earl of Arundel, Sir Lionel Cranfield, and Mr. Secretary Calvert.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, June 23, 1621.

The last Saturday failed wholly of foreign news; the winds, I suppose, have been these three weeks opposite. Neither came then much domestic of much worth; as that Dr. Laud, master of St. John's, in Oxford, was Dean of Westminster; Dr. Donne, Dean of Gloucester,[2] Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Mountaine, of Lincoln, Bishop of London. Some other suspicions also of further matters, which since have more appeared. For since the beginning of this week we have had general reports from London again and again, that the Earl of Arundel should be made, or was already, Earl Marshal of England, and some add, Warden of the Cinque Ports. That the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwyn Sandys, Sir

[1] "Others wrote that Mr. Hakewell, one of the committees of the Commons, was likewise restrained."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

[2] Neither of these promotions took place.

Samuel Sandys, and Mr. Selden, were committed. That pursuivants were gone for Sir Edward Coke and Sir Edward Giles. That my Lord Zouch should be put from the privy council. That Dr. Williams was sworn of the privy council, and should be (some said was) Lord Chancellor of England. That my Lord of Canterbury, and Dr. Morton, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, were like to be (some said already were) confined.

These were the reports the first part of the week, but on Thursday night I chanced to speak with a Cheshire gentleman, my friend, who came from London that day, having been there well nigh these three weeks, who, upon better intelligence both from court, and others, reports as followeth. That it was affirmed that the Earl of Arundel was, or should be, earl marshal; but he heard nothing of his being warden of the Cinque Ports. That the Earl of Southampton was committed to the dean's house of Westminster, and Sir John Weston appointed to be his keeper, whom another affirmed to me to be a recusant, or thought so. That Sir Edwyn and Sir Samuel Sandys, and Mr. Selden, were also committed: Sir Edwyn to one of the sheriffs of London, and Mr. Selden to another. No cause is known of these things, but that it was his majesty's pleasure, for reasons reserved to himself alone. A counsellor of law, who had visited Mr. Selden, told this gentleman that Mr. Selden had told him, that as soon as Sir Edwyn and himself were apprehended, their studies were presently searched, and all their parliament notes, and papers thereabout, carried away. And I am told by another, that Mr. Selden was employed by eight lords of the Upper House, having their hands thereunto, to make search of the records in the Tower, wherein he is more skilled than any man whatsoever.

That there had been such reports, as aforesaid, of Sir Edward Coke and Sir Edward Giles, and some others; but, as far as he could learn, without any grounds. That he was certain, as yet, there was no such thing concerning Canterbury and Litchfield, the latter of whom, being his kinsman, he went unto, and found he had heard of such a report, but seemed to him not to fear any such matter,

and thereupon went to the court at Wanstead, to show himself. That Dr. Williams was sworn of the privy council; and that he waited on Sunday, from ten in the morning till seven at night, for the sealing of his patent for lord chancellor; and that the wax was choosed for it: yet some lords of the council had gotten the prince to move his father to defer it for awhile, which he obtained; howsoever, the king and the marquis were downright for him. Some think this deferring to be an ill sign, as is wont in court suits: but others think it is only till he be elected Bishop of Lincoln, for the more honour. Time will show.

That concerning my Lord Zouch, he had not heard any thing. That the judges and council had met often, to know whether his majesty might not, by his sole power, call the parliament again before the 14th of November, whither it was adjourned by the Houses themselves; and it was said to be resolved that a new parliament he might, but this, by the laws of the kingdom, he could not.

Dr. Meddus told a friend of mine this week, that the Prince Palatine had written to our king, that if his majesty had bestowed the money which he had spent in treaties, and upon the navy to Algiers, in behalf of the Spaniard, upon his daughter and children, their inheritance had been preserved, and they need not have sued to their enemies. Whereat his majesty was offended not a little.

I had almost forgot to tell you, that on Wednesday the parliament censure was executed upon Sir Francis Mitchel, where were present the Lord Duke of Lennox, the Marquis Buckingham, and the Earl of Arundel, and a fourth, whose name I know not. Eight heralds came in their coat-armour, broke his sword over his head, and cut his spurs from his heels, and then made proclamation that none hereafter should style him by the name of Sir Francis Mitchel, Knight, but *Francis Mitchel, arrant knave:* then he went back in his coach to his prison, in Finsbury, all the boys hooting after him. Yet there rode with him in the coach two with gold chains about their necks, in the sight of all men, as one told me, which said he saw it; but Mitchel himself sat in a corner, unseen.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, June 30, 1621.

Corrantos, I know not what is become of them. That which Dr. Meddus wrote from London on Saturday, here it is; the most whereof, as for domestic, I presented in my last. Yet I heard since, and besides, that on Tuesday, the last week, the Earl of Pembroke would have yielded up his staff.

It is said that, this week, the Countess of Southampton, assisted by some two more countesses, put up a petition to the king, that her lord might answer before himself; which they say his majesty granted. I am told that Dr. Balcanqual should not write that Dr. Williams had the seal for lord keeper thrice given him, and taken from him, in one day. They say, the king should say, Charles was against it; and how could he make him recompense, unless he gave it him? To which, some report, the doctor answered, he should be content with the bishopric of London, if he might hold his deanery still *in commendam*. He hath sat, and spoken in the Star Chamber. One tells me, that he entertained, a good while since, fifty household servants. We talk (but I know not) that Mr. Lane, of St. John's, is become his chaplain.

We hold still that Dr. Gwin is Bishop of St. David's,[1] and Mr. Senhouse[2] shall have his mastership.

The King and Queen of Bohemia were lately royally entertained at Amsterdam, where all the Englishwomen of fashion came to the queen, and were graciously accepted. One Mr. Paget, an English preacher, preached before them; his text, that of the revelation to the angel of the church of Smyrna, "Be faithful unto death, and I shall give thee a crown of life;" which he argued (as they say he can well do), according to the present occasion, bravely.

I am told now, as a secret, that the Earl of Southampton hath been searching concerning the lawfulness of the

[1] Dr. Owen Gwin, master of St. John's College, in Cambridge. He died in 1633.
[2] Richard Senhouse, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge; afterwards D. D., and Dean of Gloucester, and made Bishop of Carlisle in 1624.

Earl of Hertford's marriage, which is that whereat the king is offended; for it was said that in the last parliament, somebody should propound a motion to pronounce that issue illegitimate. Some talk of other things, but I think all uncertain.

They say there is a proclamation come, or coming, concerning Sir Edwin Sandys, to let the people know that he is not restrained for his service in Parliament, but for other personal matters.

It is said that my lord treasurer should, in his speech to the judges, admonish them that they should, in their charges, direct their speeches so as might imprint and preserve a good and reverent opinion in the people concerning his majesty, his government, and his meaning in the present businesses and affairs of state. But I have told you enough of these high matters. I pray keep not my letter to read to any body. The times are full of jealousy, and he that means no hurt may be misconceived; and that which hath no other root but an excusable curiosity, will be thought to proceed from misaffection.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, July, 1621.

Notwithstanding that Sir James Lee, as I told you, had married the niece, yet, contrary to some men's expectation, he hath now missed the lord keepership. For it is the general report now, that the purse and great mace were, on Tuesday in the afternoon, sent by his majesty to Dean Williams,[1] as he was sitting in chapter, with his prebends, about church affairs. The bell is now ringing to a congregation; and they say it is to send letters gratulatory from the university, according to our fashion.

I was told, yesterday, that he had upon his knees petitioned the king, that no officers might be put upon him, but that himself might choose them at his free

[1] Afterwards Archbishop of York, equally eminent as a statesman and divine, though this eminence was not of the most desirable kind. He was the creature of Buckingham, and rapidly attained the highest honours in church and state. He lost the duke's favour, and then was just as rapidly degraded, fined, and imprisoned He survived till the year 1650.

liberty; that so, if any thing were amiss, he might not answer for the faults of those he could not do withal: which being granted him by his majesty, it is said, the prince (as it seems not knowing thereof) presently sent his letters for one of his servants, or some that he was moved to favour; to whom the lord keeper answered, that he desired his highness would pardon him, since he had upon his knees obtained the favour aforesaid of his highness's father.

How true this is I know not; but I heard, above ten days ago, that he had petitioned his majesty for the entertaining of many of the Lord Egerton's, his old lord's[1] officers, that by their experience he might, at the first beginning, be directed; which, his majesty should say, was a very reasonable suit. Whether the former report be not some mistake of this I know not.

It is said, either to-morrow or Sunday, he is to be consecrated Bishop of Lincoln.

You have heard, I know, of the hot encounter between Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, and the king, concerning the matter of the Sabbath, by occasion of what he had written in his book concerning the *practice of piety*. Some now begin to talk as though he were, or would be, restrained. But I think it is upon no great ground they have, who reported it.

We talk here as though the Earl of Southampton should refuse to answer the commissioners assigned, unless they accused him of felony or treason, because he is a Parliament man; but I cannot hear much confirmation of it.

They are come from the congregation, and it was for the end aforesaid. The letters were read, to be sent in pomp, as Mr. Power says; the vice-chancellor ushering them with a speech. The Chancellor of York, Dodsworth, affirms he saw the purse and the mace carried before the dean, in his surplice, coming from prayers, on Tuesday at night. Now for the clergy.

Dr. Bainbridge[2] told us at dinner even now, that Dr. Price, of Oxford, was committed for a sermon, wherein he

[1] He had been chaplain to Lord Chancellor Egerton.
[2] Fellow of Christ College, Cambridge, and afterwards master.

was too busy with Rochelle, the Palatinate, and the Spaniard. Of Rochelle he said, that once before, in like distress, it was relieved by miracle; but we must not always look for miracles, but were bound to use the means God had enabled us with, for relief of that cause God approves. Of the Spaniard he related, by way of application, that of Baladan, King of Babel's ambassador to Hezekiah: 2nd Kings, chap. xx., verses 13 to 18. It may be this gave occasion to the report of the restraint of Bayly, Bishop of Bangor, seeing both are Welchmen; but they say the king answers, he will hang Price.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, July 7, 1621.

Mr. Boswell,[1] sent out of France to court, and now to return, made a stay to visit his old friends; from whom I learned, that the Earl of Southampton was thought to be in a different crime from Sir Edwin Sandys and the rest; namely, to have had some private intercourse and practice with the King and Queen of Bohemia, to further their cause, and means of relief from hence, and some beginning as it were of confederation; in that there were letters sent by him, subscribed by many hands, as undertaking in their behalf. I hear not that Sir Samuel Sandys and Hakewell are amongst the detained.

Withers,[2] for his motto, is in the Marshalsea; the king threatening to pare his whelp's claws.

On Wednesday last, Sir James Lee[3] married the marquis's kinswoman, and, as some think, may be lord keeper. Whether Dr. Williams shall marry the other or no, as was said when he was near the broad seal, I know not.

The King of Denmark hath quartered eight thousand

[1] William Boswell, educated at Jesus College, in Cambridge; afterwards knighted, and resident for Charles I. in Holland. Died, 1647.

[2] George Wither, author of "Abuses Stript and Whipt," which led to his residence in the Marshalsea. He wrote several other works, some satirical, and others of a pastoral and religious character. His best work being his "Shepherd's Hunting," which he wrote in prison.

[3] Made lord chief justice of the King's Bench, in January, 1621. In 1624 was made lord high treasurer, and Baron Ley, of Ley; and, in 1625, Earl of Marlborough. He died March 14, 1628.

men in Schomberg's country, and the rest of his army about Hamburgh, and is gone back to a Parliament in Denmark. His quarrel against him grew from bearing the title of Duke of Holst, purchased from the emperor. Thus says Mr. Young, preacher to our English at Hamburgh, who was at Cambridge this commencement.

Our prevaricator was committed before he had done his act, for telling us that he would give us music, but he would not play upon Gondomar's fistula, Gondomar's pipe.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, July 21, 1621.

It was true that I wrote last of the Bishop of Bangor. On Thursday was se'nnight, he was examined before my Lords of Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Lincoln, London, and Sir John Bird, dean of the Arches; and it was talked at London then, that he should be degraded, and some idly added, that he should be made incapable of any preferment, save a * * *, as a reward for his puritanism. What is true, I know not. It was true also of Dr. Price, for a sermon before the king, on Sunday was fortnight; but he was not long restrained. He is the prince's chaplain.

The Earl of Southampton's answer to the commissioners sent from the king to take his answer to certain interrogatories, was, that if his offence were criminal, he was to answer in the Star Chamber; if capital, at the King's Bench; if of lesser moment, at the council-table. Howsoever, before he would give answer, he desired to be resolved in one question; viz., whether, being a peer of the parliament, he might challenge that privilege and liberty, by the laws of the kingdom, which every member of the parliament was to have during the parliament; yea, every one of their servants, &c. Whereunto, when they gave him no answer, he said, that, for his own part, he was resolved not to do anything which might prejudice the privileges and freedom of parliament and the members thereof, and therefore desired that he might make his

answer in parliament, and in the presence of his majesty. Other answer he would not give any.

About the end of last week, the Earl of Oxford was committed to Alderman Cockayne's. His fault was thought to be too bold speech in behalf of the Earl of Southampton.

Our master, from the court at Royston, on Thursday morning, brought news of a jubilee at London: viz., that most of the restrained persons were set free; the Earl of Southampton, Northumberland, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Henry Yelverton, and I know not who besides. That the lord keeper came with the Earl of Southampton to Theobalds, where the king had private speech with him an hour. We shall hear more to day.

On Thursday and Friday night, it is said, the king lay at Theobalds.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 21, 1621.

This week I received your letter by Martin, and presently sent away the enclosed to Sir Dudley Digges, who is not in town; but having attended a good while after the term upon hopes and promises, grew weary of court holy-water, and got him home.

As for my Lord of Winchester,[1] he is so much employed at court in the high commission, and other such service, that he is seldom to be found, which uncertainty, together with mine own retired disposition (that grows fast upon me), is the cause that I do not often seek him. The next morning, after my coming to town, he sent for me to go somewhere with him to dinner; but I had then so much business, that I could not then possibly attend him, though I would never so fain.

On Sunday, the Earl of Arundel had the baton delivered him, and was made earl marshal, at Theobalds. The king would have given him £2000 a-year pension withal, but (whatsoever the reason was) he would not accept but the ordinary fee, which is £20 per annum.

On Monday, the Marquis Buckingham came to town,

[1] Dr. Lancelot Andrews.

and made many visits. He was with the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Henry Yelverton in the Tower; with the Earl of Southampton two hours together, at Westminster; with the Earl of Oxford at Sir William Cockaine's; with Sir Thomas Lake, at his house; in all which places his coming was taken for a good presage, like the appearing of St. Elmo after a tempest. And accordingly, on Monday morning, very early, the lord keeper[1] carried the Earl of Southampton to Theobalds, where the king, before he began his progress, had long conference with him, none bring admitted into the room but the lord keeper and the Lord of Buckingham; but, in conclusion, the lord keeper brought him home to his own house, in Holborn, dined with him, and there left him at liberty. He hath won a great deal of good will in dealing so really and effectually for him, and being reputed the chief instrument of his deliverance, and of reconciling and salving all that was amiss. We cannot aim at the cause of his restraint. You may perhaps guess better on that side, for some think that it was for looking too much that way.

That afternoon, the Earl of Northumberland was released from his long imprisonment in the Tower, whence the Lord of Doncaster went to fetch him, and brought him home to his house with a coach and six horses. It was my chance to see him in Paul's churchyard; and in my judgment, he is nothing altered from what he was more than fifteen years ago, that he was committed. He hath liberty to lie at Petworth, or in any place within thirty miles compass of it, within which circuit I take Sion to be. The warders of the Tower make great moan that they have lost such a benefactor.

Captain North was delivered then likewise, and Sir Henry Yelverton the next day, with hope that his fine shall be remitted. And, to make up a full jubilee, Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Selden are set free from the sheriffs; and the Earl of Oxford from Sir William Cockaine, after admonition at the council-table, and order to follow the king, to know his further pleasure. Whatsoever his offence was, the king deals graciously with him, in not withdrawing

[1] Williams.

the grant he had gotten of making a baron. The others are likewise to have their absolution from the king's own mouth, though perhaps their errors were different. Not so much as Floyd but shall be partaker of this general grace, his enlargement being signed, and, by mistaking, directed and sent to the warden of the Fleet, whereas he is in Newgate. All the lords and great men about this town, go to visit and congratulate with the Earl of Northumberland. The Earl of Arundel supped with him the first night, and dined there the next day, whither came likewise, unbidden, the Spanish ambassador, who is grown so affable and familiar, that on Monday, with his whole train, he went to a common play at the Fortune, in Golding Lane, and the players (not to be overcome with courtesy) made him a banquet, when the play was done, in the garden adjoining. The Earl of Northumberland continues at Sion for ten days, and then goes to Petworth, thence to Penshurst, to see his daughter Lisle, and so where he thinks good, within his precincts. The Lord of Doncaster went that way yesterday towards France, having in his company the young Lord Wriothsley and the lord treasurer's [1] eldest son.[2]

It is commonly reported that Sir Henry Rich shall shortly go ambassador to Brussels, to condole with the infanta the death of the archduke.

We have as much cause here to complain of the weather, for such a summer, I think, was never seen, especially after so hard a winter; yet there is great show of plenty of corn and grape upon the ground, if it please God to send it well in; but it seems this is the age and year of extravagances and wonders.

Herewith I send you a sermon of Dr. Laud's on the king's birthday, because it is after the manner of the Bishop of Winchester's preaching, and because it somewhat touches the idle conceit of Sergeant Finch's book, of the calling of the Jews.

[1] Viscount Mandeville, afterwards Earl of Manchester.

[2] Edward, second Earl of Manchester, the celebrated Parliamentary general, who commanded at Marston Moor.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 4, 1621.

Sir Dudley Digges was in town on Sunday, but his stay was so little that I did not see him. His errand was to condole and comfort the Lord of Canterbury for that heavy mishap;[1] and when he had despatched that duty, he went away in post as he came. For aught I can learn, there is no more sorrow than needs, and I could wish they were somewhat more sensible of such a disaster; for howsoever mischances may light anywhere, and cannot be prevented, yet what should a man of his place and profession be meddling with edge-tools; and, no doubt, both his own ill-willers and the common adversary will be ready enough to take advantage, and make the worst construction. Presently, upon the fall of the fellow, who lived not half an hour, he sent away to inform his majesty; who returned a gracious answer, that such an accident might befall any man; that himself once had the ill luck to kill the keeper's horse under him; and that his queen, in like sort, killed him the best brache he ever had, and therefore willed him not to discomfort himself. The keeper and he were both on horseback, and in a standing, as was reported. It is given out his lordship will provide for the widow and three children in competent manner—some say more, some less. John Backhouse was present, and one of the jury, to inquire, as the manner is, how he came by his death; and they gave up a strange kind of verdict, and found it done *per infortunium suæ propriæ culpæ.*

On Monday, the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Lord of Arundel, Lord Brocke, Lord Cranfield, Secretary Calvert, and the Master of the Rolls, sat at Guildhall, upon the subsidy, which is to be paid in November. The lord keeper made a convenient speech, which tended (as likewise the lord treasurer's) that, finding the rates of this last subsidy to fall from those of former times, they must take order that these be raised higher.

[1] His grace was enjoying the sport of deer-shooting, and had the misfortune to kill a man instead of a stag.

The Earl of Arundel hath the impost of currants granted him at so easy a rate, that it is thought he will gain £4000 or £5000 a-year by them at least.

Whatsoever the matter is, the marriage of Mr. Wraye with the Lord Norris's, or Earl of Berkshire's daughter, hath found some rub, and goes not forward.

On yesterday, the king was to be entertained by the Lord of Buckingham at Burleigh, in Rutlandshire, a house of the Lord Harrington's, that he bought of the Lady of Bedford, where was great provision of players, masques, and all manner of entertainments; and this day the court removes to Beauvoir.

We hear the king hath knighted, with good grace, one Lambe,[1] commissary of Northamptonshire, a man much complained of this last parliament, and painted more foul than Sir John Bennett, at Ashley, whence there is come out a new proclamation against lavish and licentious talking in matters of state, either at home or abroad; which the common people know not how to understand, nor how far matters of state may stretch or extend, for they continue to take no notice of it, but print every week, at least, corrantos, with all manner of news, and as strange stuff as any we have from Amsterdam.

I had almost forgot that the Lord St. John, the Marquis of Winchester's son, is lately dead, and his widow,[2] they say, bespoken.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 18, 1621.

The king was so pleased and taken with his entertainment at the lord marquis's,[3] that he could not forbear to express his contentment in certain verses he made there, to this effect—that the air, the weather (though it were not so here), and every thing else, even the stags and bucks in their fall, seemed to smile, so that there was

[1] John Lambe, who afterwards obtained some celebrity in the proceedings against Archbishop Williams.

[2] Mary, daughter of Anthony Brown, Viscount Montacute. Her second husband was William, second son of Thomas, Lord Arundel, of Wardour.

[3] Buckingham.

hope of a smiling boy within a while; to which end he concluded with a wish, or *votum*, for the felicity and fructifulness of that virtuous and happy couple; and, in a way of amen, caused the Bishop of London, in his presence, to give them a benediction.

The Lord of Arundel's grant of the currants goes not forward; but in lieu thereof, and of certain ancient privileges and profits incident and belonging to his office of earl marshal, he is to have a pension of £2000 per annum for himself and his son.

The lord keeper hath gotten the deanery of Westminster *in commendam*, during the time he shall continue Bishop of Lincoln, besides his parsonage of Walgrave, in Northamptonshire, and a good prebend of that church, attached to the bishopric of Lincoln for ever.

Though the Archbishop of Canterbury had that gracious answer upon the first news of his misfortune that I wrote you, yet, I hear since, that fair weather begins to overcast, and clouds to gather against him; as likewise it is doubted, for all the semblance 'twixt Sir Edward Coke and his lady, that his nails will be pared ere long.

The Duke of Lennox is in possession, and hath taken a lease of Hatton House; but upon what tenures, or for how long, I cannot learn. He is not like to be long alone if the speech be true, that we are to have two or three dukes more made to bear him company.

We hear the Lord Chandos[1] is dead by the way, in his return from the Spa.

Here be two merchants, James and Green, men of good estimation, both for wit and wealth, lately broken for great sums, and it is doubted more will follow. Ten, or rather twenty, as others say, of our best merchant ships are pressed here in the river, for some service, which is thought to be either to keep the Hollanders *in corvello* about the East Indian trade, or to relieve Rochelle in case of need; or (which is most likely) to repel the insolence of the French fishermen, who have lately usurped and encroached extremely upon the coast of Rye, and those parts, without all limitation; and what with unlawful

[1] Grey Brydges, fifth baron. He died on the 10th of August.

nets and other disorders, have quite spoiled all the fishing of the coast.

I perceive our East Indian merchants have here a strong apprehension, that the Hollanders' general or principal factor in the East Indies is not sound; which they collect by divers arguments, not only touching their past differences, and that concern the common alliance, but that he is false to his own master, and, as they stick not to say, popishly affected, and even jesuited; whereby he doth still *bellum ex bella serere* in those parts, and, by overlaying the business, threaten to overthrow all.

I know not whether you have heard, that the Venetian ambassador's secretary, writing in a room at Questor's, where the letters lie, a packet of the Florentine ambassador comes to be missing, for which he makes great complaint; and the Venetian as fast, that his man should be suspected. In the mean time, it breeds no good blood between those two States, where there was no sound intelligence before.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 14, 1621.

My Lord of Canterbury was on Tuesday at court, kissed the king's hand, had private gracious words, held his place at council; also, went before his majesty to and from the chapel; dined there, and departed cheerfully. So there is hope yet all will be well, though some seem to doubt.

The Rochelle commissioners had full as much, and more content of his majesty by word than looked for, and hope of performance.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, September 15, 1621.

That which hast made me forget the last time, shall be the first I write at this, that Dr. Cotton,[1] Bishop of

[1] Dr. William Cotton, educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Lewes, in Sussex. Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's, and made Bishop of Exeter, in November, 1598. He died August 26, 1621.

Exeter, is dead, and our master[1] shall succeed him. The means was reported unto me as followeth. My Lord of Hunsdon, who is much favoured by the marquis, had, together with him, been with the king at Windsor, to kiss his hand, and found him at that present very pleasantly and graciously disposed. It happened, as he was gone out from him, that he met the first message of the bishop's death arriving at court; which opportunity, and his majesty's gracious temper at his departure from him, moved him to return; and, acquainting the marquis therewith, they both went presently to his majesty, and obtained it for our master, before others could hear of the vacancy. Some say that my lord keeper put in his good word. On Tuesday, the day after I came from Dalham, our master went suddenly forth, being by post sent for to the court at Windsor, by my Lord of Hunsdon, to give thanks to his majesty, and those who had done so well for him. On Saturday, at night, he returned again; and was on Sunday at dinner in our hall, when he very kindly inquired how you did, and whether you would not be here this fair-time, expressing much desire to see you here before he went to London. I told him you were to come this way at Michaelmas.

A friend told me, this fair-time, that Ben Jonson was not knighted, but escaped narrowly, for that his majesty would have done it, had there not been means made (himself not unwilling) to avoid it.

The general report here is, that my Lord of Canterbury's hearing was on Monday; but what is done, the reports were yesterday but uncertain, though most that it went against him: some, that he was deposed; others, that he was persuaded to resign his bishopric himself, and yet that the king much graced him in the presence the day before. They say that he shall have a liberal pension for life: others, that Winchester shall be Canterbury, and my Lord Keeper Bishop of Winchester. And some talk about my Lord Treasurer shall be chancellor, and my Lord Cranfield treasurer, if my Lord

[1] Dr. Valentine Cary, who was consecrated Bishop of Exeter, November 11, 1621, and died in 1627.

Keeper be archbishop. This afternoon will bring us more certainty.

I shall not need to tell you, that my Lord Keeper's refusing to be consecrated by the Archbishop, as having his hands in blood, was one means, if not the chief, of his affliction.

My Lord Gerard is slain by my Lord St. John, upon Calais Sands, as the report is here, though some say in the north.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, September 22, 1621.

It is both written and reported for certain, at London, that on Monday was sennight, Gondomar went forward to meet his majesty returning from progress, and made complaint of Sir Horatio Vere, for that which is lately done in the Palatinate. Belike it grieved him that some of the Dons were killed. I am told that there is an apology set forth for Sir Horatio; but I have not yet seen it. But they say that Sir Horatio lays that which was done upon Obertrent; whether it be that of the conflict at Stein, or invading the villages, or both, I know not. But it was reported, when I came home, that my Lord Digby, in his passage, had given Sir Horatio a strict charge not to meddle, to his no small grief, as having of his English, and those he had trained of the natives, some ten or twelve thousand, both ready and desirous at that instant to make some proof of their valour.

For my Lord of Canterbury, you see what the enclosed says; and yet there is great fear of the event by those that wish him well. For, though the king used him graciously the next day after his return, yet, when he sent to his majesty, as the wont is, to know where he should attend, whether at Woodstock or elsewhere, it is said he was prohibited to come to him anywhere, save at Whitehall.

My corrantor, Archer, was laid by the heels, for making, or adding to his corrantos, as they say. But

now there is another that hath got license to print them, and sell them, honestly translated out of Dutch.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 1, 1621.

The Lower House fell to their business on Monday, and, after much debating, by Wednesday resolved on a subsidy to be passed in February next; concluding that all recusants (or whose wives, children, or servants are so), should pay double, and be counted as aliens; and that they should not be rated by the ordinary sessors, but by the commissioners. This is all they can do, to show the apprehension and dislike of the incredible increase of that faction by the countenance and connivance that hath been given them of late. Noy,[1] the lawyer, would have a proviso inserted for the Archbishop of York,[2] in respect of his son;[3] by which unseasonable jest, he hath gained nothing but the reputation to favour or savour of that sect. There have been many good and free speeches used, and some perhaps more violent than needed, against the Spaniard, and much urging for a war of diversion; which, indeed, for mine own part, I did ever think the only way, and not to stand pating and pelting in the Palatinate, only to consume our men and means. It was a great question among them, who was our enemy in the Palatinate; seeing the emperor, King of Spain, and archdukes, were excused. For, as for the King of Bavaria, they hold him not able to undergo such a business alone. I have heard extraordinary commendation made of a neat speech by one Pym,[4] a receiver, wherein he laboured to show, that the king's piety, clemency, justice, bounty, facetiæ, peaceable disposition, and other his natural virtues, were by the adverse party turned and converted to a quite contrary course. And, though he were somewhat long in the explanation of these particulars, yet he had great attention,

[1] William Noy, afterwards attorney-general.
[2] Dr. Tobie Matthew.
[3] His namesake, afterwards knighted.
[4] John Pym, then member for Calne.

and was exceedingly commended, both in matter and manner.

They are now in hand with a plot, or conspiracy, to have ruined Sir Edward Coke in the Star Chamber, the chief actors wherein, are one Lepton, and Goldsmith, of Gray's Inn, who, being apprehended and his papers searched, confessed his error, and craves pardon; but Lepton plays least in sight, and is escaped, as is thought, toward Scotland; but, upon further examination of the business, the practice seems shrewdly to reflect upon his lady, and the Lord Hollis, or Houghton. The House is very sensible of the injury done him, and of the danger he was like to have fallen into; and, I think, if they may be but let alone, will proceed severely in it.

This day, Sir Peter Hayman and Sir James Malory are appointed by the House to go into Kent, to Sir Edwin Sandys, and see what state he is in; and, if he be sick, indeed, to return his answer, whether he were committed and examined about anything done in parliament. There hath been some question, likewise, in the Upper House, about Mr. Selden's restraint and the taking away of his papers, which were in part restored to him a day or two since, by the lord keeper.

It is much marvelled that so much business being now on foot, both at home and abroad, the king should keep still at Newmarket, where, by reason of the foul weather and ways, he can take no great pleasure, nor have any store of company; the Lord Marquis Buckingham, his lady, and his mother, the countess, and the Lady of Purbeck, being all of note that I can hear are about him.

The States' commissioners arrived here on Wednesday, and are lodged in the house that was the late lord mayor's, not far from the Exchange. They are like to do little till the king's coming hither; for the ways are such, that I think they will neither desire, nor shall be desired, to go to the court.

The smallpox brake out again in divers places, for all the last hard winter and cool summer; and hitherto we have had no sultry nor warm winter that might invite

them. The Lord Dudley's eldest son[1] is lately dead of them, and the young Lady Mordaunt, the Lady Effingham's daughter, is now sick.

It is thought, about Monday, some of the Parliament House shall be sent to the king with certain petitions.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 15, 1621.

I doubt not but your nephew Dudley[2] did furnish you the last week with whatsoever was here stirring. He went on Monday to see his father and friends in Bedfordshire, and had as cold a journey as those twelve that were sent from the Lower House to Newmarket, to present their remonstrance and petition to the king; which, indeed, was a hard journey, for I do not remember a more sharp week than this hath been: and the extremity at the very first made us think it could not last, but it holds out still in such sort that the Thames is not passable, nor I can scant set pen to paper; and, therefore, you must pardon me if I relate not matters at length.

I presume your nephew, or Mr. Locke, sent you the remonstrance and the petition, which was a kind of answer to the king's letter, that did a little daunt them at first; but they soon recovered their spirits, and sent away their messengers without any verbal errand, but only to deliver those papers, which, being long, I could recover no copies of them in time, nor of the king's letter; neither, indeed, do I look after these things with that appetite I was wont. But I make account you have them from other hands. The messengers came back on Thursday, and yesterday made their relation in the House. It seems they had a favourable reception, and the king played with them, in calling for stools for the ambassadors to sit down; but, in conclusion, he read the remonstrance, but would not look upon the petition, and, for answer, returned his pleasure in writing, which was twice read yesterday in the House, containing two sheets of paper at least. The prin-

[1] Sir Ferdinando Sutton, son of Edward, ninth Baron Dudley, whose daughter, Anne, married Meinhardt, Count Schomberg, by whom she had Frederick, Duke of Schomberg, who was killed in the battle of the Boyne.

[2] Dudley Carleton, afterwards knighted, and resident in Holland.

cipal points whereof, as far as I have heard, were, that he would do his uttermost to recover the Palatinate, and that he was not so unnatural as to forsake his children, but would adventure all he had to maintain their right; but for the manner of managing that business, they must leave that to him.

Touching religion, he puts them out of doubt, that he stands firm in that wherein he was bred and brought up, and which he hath ever professed, and hopes still to live and die in it; and that he will give way to any good laws they shall make for the establishing and continuance of it. As for the match with Spain, it was so far proceeded in on his part, that, if those conditions and covenants he hath propounded may be accepted and kept, there is no more speech to be used in it; and that his dearest son had wrote to him how unkindly he took it, that they should busy themselves and intermeddle so much in his marriage. Other things there were, sharp enough, which they must digest as they may. But sure there is not that good understanding between the king and them, that were to be wished, whilst he is so apprehensive of the least point that may seem to touch his prerogative, and they so jealous and careful to preserve their privileges; and withal it is thought some privy whisperers and tale-bearers do misinform his majesty, and so animate him to the prejudice of the House. This afternoon, they are to have a conference with the Lords, where it is thought the Lord Digby will relate to them somewhat touching the Palatinate, and how matters stand there since his coming thence.

The king should come to Royston this night; on Monday, to Theobalds, where your States should have audience the next day, which, no doubt, will be welcome to them, after three weeks waiting; for they keep in, and have not been seen abroad since their coming.

On Sunday night, here was a great fire at the Fortune, in Golding Lane, the fairest playhouse in this town. It was quite burnt down in two hours, and all their apparel and play-books lost, whereby these poor companions are quite undone. There were two other houses on fire, but with great labour and danger were saved. The night

before, Auditor Gaston's house, at Stockwell, by Lambeth, not far from Sir Noel Carron's, was likewise burnt to the ground, and all his stuff lost. And that night, a fair brick house, of Mr. Bregrave's, in Hertfordshire, by Puckeridge, was likewise burnt, and all lost. So that it should seem there was some fire-planet reigned, that, in less than four-and-twenty hours, consumed three fair buildings, so far distant one from the other.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, January 10, 1621-2.

After my heartiest thanks for all your late kindnesses, I could not but, in a word or two, let you understand what news I find here current, viz.: That the Parliament should have been dissolved, and the proclamation a-printing, but that the Earl of Pembroke so vehemently interceded with the king, that it was yet suspended, and so hoped his majesty will be pacified; though some fear the contrary. Some join the prince for an intercessor. That Sir Edward Coke is lodged in the Tower, in a room that once was a kitchen; whereupon, against he should come thither, one had written upon the door, "This room wants a cook," which himself read at his entry.

My lord, our master, ministered the communion on Christmas Day, in his rochet, &c.; and came into the hall at dinner, sitting down in his chair. "Well," said he, "in good time be it spoken, I think I am the first bishop that ever sat in this place." He, with my Lord of Salisbury, were invited to St. John's College, where, after supper, the two bishops, with Dr. Richardson[1] and Dr. Gwyn,[2] came down into the hall, and played at cards.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 11, 1621-2.

The Parliament having been full ten days in suspense, whether to hold or not, was on Wednesday clean dissolved

[1] Master, first of the Peter House, and then of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died about the beginning of the year 1625.

[2] Master of St. John's College.

by proclamation. The same day, his majesty rode by coach to Theobalds to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to return till towards Easter. After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled, and cast his majesty into the New River, where the ice broke; he fell in so far, that nothing but his boots were seen. Sir Richard Young was next, who alighted, went into the river, and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and body. His majesty rode back to Theobalds, went into a warm bed, and, as we hear, is well, which God continue.

The lords, and others of the council, have much weighty business (God direct them in all things), for they sit daily at Whitehall in council, having there their diet. It is said there is some new order in hand for lords lieutenant, their deputies, and justices of the peace.

This day sennight, the Lord Marquis Buckingham, his lady, the countess his mother, and lady sister, came to my Lord Bishop of London's palace; were fetched in by the choir of St. Paul's into the chapel, where the lord bishop confirmed them: and, after, they dined with his lordship. I remember not to have read in the Council's Decretals, that the practice was to confirm, after receiving the communion, but before.

It is said the Lord Digby goes shortly into Spain, the Count Gondomar with him; and young Toby Matthews came hither the last week from Brussels.

To-day is another proclamation come forth, for the securing of all such as have sustained loss, in their writing, by the fire in Chancery Lane, when the Six Clerks' Office was burned.[1]

Sir Edward Coke is still close prisoner in the Tower, where the Lord Cobham lay; and some muttering as if this next term he may come to his trial, at the King's Bench bar. Some others, also, are said to be questioned with, but in a milder manner. On Tuesday, there went from the Gate-house to the Tower, the servant and horse-keeper of Mr. Byng, counsellor, of Gray's Inn, for using very seditious words, the last week, in favour of Sir

[1] On Thursday, December 20, 1621. See life of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, written by himself. Harl. MS., vol. 646.

Edward Coke; which are worthily like to cost him dear, though a simple fellow, as is said.

Old Sir Anthony Ashley hath married a cousin of the Lord Marquis Buckingham's, of nineteen years old, who is like to be advanced.

There was never greater Twelfth Market for broad cloth, never fewer buyers. The clothiers say they must, at their return home, discharge scores of workmen a-piece, which is very lamentable.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

January 12, 1621-2.

Though I think Sir Francis Nethersole hath brought the proclamation of the dissolution of Parliament, yet I do make bold to send one of them to your lordship, and another that is come forth since.

Sir Robert Phillips is committed to the Tower; and it is thought that Sir James Malory, a Yorkshire knight, who is sent for, will go that way when he cometh. There is a great standard of papers brought to the council chamber, of Sir Edward Coke's, which will be thoroughly searched.

A servant to one Mr. Byng, a counsellor, is deeply questioned for saying, that there would be a rebellion, or to that effect. He hath been upon the rack, and they say it will cost him his life.

I did formerly advertise your lordship that I had written to Mr. Corbett about the ship of Dorcum; and now I have his answer, which I send your lordship, that you may know the manner of his carriage towards them. Seven or eight days since, I did wait upon Sir Noel Caron, and told him that your lordship had commanded me to use my best endeavours in that business, and that I had received a letter from the gentleman, the effect whereof I declared unto him, and would have left the letter with him; but he said it was needless, because there was already order out of the Admiralty, and that the gentleman should be satisfied for the moneys he had disbursed, &c.

I sent your lordship the names of the commissioners that are to be sent into Ireland.

Mr. Dudley Carleton only attends Mr. Secretary Calvert for his despatch.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 18, 1621-2.

The occurrences since the former are, that, on Saturday, Sir Robert Phillips was committed to the Tower. Divers others are still in question. Sir Dudley Digges, Mr. Thomas Crew, the lawyer, and others, are appointed for Ireland. On Wednesday evening, the Earl and Countess of Somerset were discharged from the Tower.

The means now used for money is by a large benevolence, which who refuse are not set down to serve the king in the Palatinate war. The moneys, notwithstanding, come in but slowly. It is said there will be a parliament, as else 10,000 men shall be pressed, to be commanded by the Lord Chichester, already come out of Ireland for that purpose. And it is muttered, as if the late lord chancellor should be restored to that office.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 19, 1621-2.

Sir Edward Coke was examined by the Earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain, and lord president (as they call him), where, they say, my Lord Arundel laid treason to his charge, for speaking so in parliament as tended to stir up the subjects' hearts against their sovereign. Sir Robert Phillips is likewise committed to the Tower, being sent for by a pursuivant, in the midst of his jollity and feasting of his friends in the country. But I hear of nothing yet laid to his charge.

Mr. Byng of Grantchester's man, for speaking seditious words about the dissolving of parliament, was committed, and hath been, they say, racked; others say, had the strapado. Some say he is dead with racking; others, that either he is or shall be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Some conceive he is racked to learn whether he had heard anything at his master's; for Mr. Byng married Mr.

Clinch's daughter, who, since the last prorogation, had, with another parliament man, lain at Mr. Byng's house. Thus they talk; but I hear nothing but they are innocent.

They say, Dr. White,[1] Dr. Westfield,[2] Mr. Shute,[3] and some add, Dr. Day, are suspended. Dr. White for something delivered in his lectures. But some cannot guess what shall be the fault of some of them, unless it were want of zeal to a brief now come out for a collection to repair the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem. For in Dr. Westfield's parish they say there was but £12 given, and in some others less, when, in one of them (Dr. Westfield's), there was almost £80 gathered lately for the French. They say, one of the friars of the monastery there comes for the collection.

Some talk as though many justices of Middlesex should be put out of the commission.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 19, 1621-2.

Sir Robert Phillips was committed to the Tower this day sevennight, where the Lords have been twice to examine him, though they have a great deal of other business, specially about raising money, wherein they proceed by way of persuading a benevolence, and sending for men of known wealth, they deal with them severally, and have hitherto had so good success, that they have drawn divers to give £200, and most £100, among whom Ned Wimark is in rank. But it is thought they must descend to lower sums, or else it will prove no benevolence, but rather a *volens nolens*.

The wilfulness of the Lower House hath brought us to these terms, whereby we may see that *vanum sine viribus ire;* and that there is no disputing nor contesting with supreme authority.

[1] Probably Dr. Thomas White, vicar of St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, and the founder of Sion College, in London, who died March 1, 1623.

[2] Dr. Thomas Westfield, rector of St. Bartholomew's the Great; in 1641, made Bishop of Bristol.

[3] Probably Mr. Josiah Shute, rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth.

The Archbishop of Canterbury hath held the same course with his clergy, and the bishops about this town have condescended to good rates, considering the burthen of three ordinary subsidies they have undergone this year. And, to say truth, it comes generally somewhat out of season, after so many collections for Bohemia, the French Church, two whole subsidies within the compass of a year, and the hard seasons we have had these two last summers; so that, if God help us not, we are in a poor case. And yet, if promise be not kept, we talk of 10,000 foot and 2000 horse to be maintained in the Palatinate, which, if they be raised of those kind of people in those parts, I shall have no great hopes of good success.

The Lord Chichester, or Belfast, is called out of Ireland for some employment in these businesses, or rather, as some say, to marry some kinswoman or other.

The Marquis of Buckingham hath contracted with the Lord and Lady Wallingford[1] for their house near Whitehall, for some money, and the making of Sir Thomas Howard Baron of Charleton and Viscount Andover; and some think the delivery of the Lord of Somerset and his lady out of the Tower was part of the bargain. I hear they came out severally on Thursday, in the evening, and lay that night at Northampton House; then they are to go to Mr. Gibbs's, by Otelands, and so to Gray's, a house of the Lord of Wallingford's, in Oxfordshire, where they are to continue.

Sir Thomas Wentworth, of Yorkshire, is said to be lately made Viscount Raby, but on what conditions I know not. Here is speech of divers other lords to be made out of hand, and the lord treasurer, with the Lord Digby, to be created earls.

[1] Lord Wallingford married, first—Dorothy, widow of Edmund Lord Chandos, and daughter of Edward, Lord Bray; and, secondly, Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Thomas, Earl of Suffolk. His second wife had two sons, which she did not produce till after the death of her husband, created Earl of Banbury, 1626; and she subsequently married Lord Vaux, who is believed to have been their father. The heirs in descent assumed the title of Earl of Banbury, till the question of their claim, which had created a great deal of litigation, was finally decided by a committee of the House of Lords in 1813, against the last claimant, William Knollys, great-great-great grandson of Nicholas, the survivor of the assumed sons of Lord Wallingford.

The Archbishop of York is reported once more to be dead.

Sir Henry Saville is here in town, so far gone of the scorbut, that some doubt he will hardly recover. Mr. Nicolas Hare, that was at Padua, died here the last week, and made Captain John Harvey his executor, which is said to be three or four thousand pounds in his way. He requested me two days since to entreat your lordship for a copy of the picture you have of Mr. Hare, and that it may be drawn by Michael Janson, or some other good hand, for that he means to make some monument, wherein he shall have use of it. The sooner you please to favour him in it the better welcome it will be. I understand him always *en payant*.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 22, 1621-2.

I send you the news of last Saturday. I am told beside, that all justices are like to be discommissioned shortly, and a new choice made. Mr. Ramsay told me from court; and besides, that my Lord of Pembroke and Marquis Hamilton spoke vehemently at the council table against dissolving of the parliament, affirming that the day would come when this error would be imputed to the council, and not the king; and therefore they protested against it. That my Lord of Arundel telling Sir Edward Coke that he had heard him affirm, that by law, he that should go about to withdraw the subjects' hearts from their king was a traitor; Sir Edward answered, that he was so indeed; but that he that went about to withdraw the king's heart from his subjects, he held to be an archtraitor: moreover, my lord told him, that though he were a close prisoner, yet his majesty would allow to come unto him eight of the best learned in the law to advise him in his cause. He answered, that he thanked the king for his gracious favour; but he knew himself to be accounted to have as much skill in the law as any man in England; and therefore needed no such help, nor feared to be judged by the law in that he was

accused. He knew his majesty might easily find, in such a one as he, whereby to take away his head; but for this he feared not what could be said.

He[1] told me more, that some lawyer, who he knew was brought to the council table to demonstrate, that if a parliament were called, and through the default of those assembled no session made, his majesty might then, by his prerogative, ordain laws for the matters therein unconcluded; and besides dispose of many other things, by a right the laws and customs of the kingdom gave unto him in such a case: and that some of the council undertook to show the king a way to furnish himself with money for the maintenance of 8000 men, without any subsidies, or help of parliament.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 26, 1621-2.

Some say Sir Edward Coke was to answer yesterday; and for life, they thought. What is become of Mr. Byng's man, whether he be alive or dead, I hear nothing. The benevolence and borrowing of money goes about the city. Alderman Cockayne gave the king £300.

The talk hath been this week and more, that your bishop should be a privy councillor. The great clergy hath had a meeting for the benevolence, and, as they say, have prescribed to the inferior clergy what they shall give, according to their valuation in the king's books; and that, as it is feared, so heavy, that it will make them groan.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February, 1, 1621-2.

The last week, Mr. Malory, of Yorkshire, was committed to the Tower, who is said to be much dejected, and not like the rest. And it is said the Lord Spencer's son is also sent for up. This day sennight, the sheriff searched a

[1] Mr. Ramsey.

merchant's house, in Tower Street, for his servant, that had used unbeseeming speeches, but was not found.

Moneys come in apace, and round sums; and it is to go over the land: but trade in city and country much decays.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 2, 1621-2.

The benevolence goes on. A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king £200, or else to go into the Palatinate, and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age. He yielded rather than pay, though he might rather better have given a subsidy according as he stands valued. This was told to me by one that had it from his own mouth. They talk also of privy seals.

His majesty, at Theobalds, discoursing publicly how he meant to govern, was heard to say, he would govern according to the good of the common weal; but not according to the common will.[1]

It is said the prince interceding lately for Edward Coke, his majesty answered he knew no such man; and when the prince interceded by the name of Mr. Coke, his majesty still answered he knew none of that name, neither. But he swore there was one Captain Coke, the leader of the faction in parliament.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

February 4, 1621-2.

Our East India merchants come to the Lords with new complaints against the Hollanders. The particulars I hope to send to your lordship in my next. My Lord of Oxford, and Sir Francis Howard, his admiral, went to their

[1] By the last paragraph, and a hundred more of the same kind that have preceded it, it is clear enough that James's idea of government resembled that of a German petty prince in the middle ages, who levied contributions upon every one who fell into his power.

ships the 28th of the last; they have four of the king's ships and five merchants', which are near equal the king's in tonnage.

The Lords do still take pains to bring in contributions; and now that they have called before them the principal men of the city, they have written to the lord mayor and aldermen to deal with the rest; and so have done to the judges, to countenance the business in their circuits: and, in the mean time, to use the best means they can with the officers that are subordinate unto them in the courts of justice. It is like to go on well. The king did write a letter to the Lords, (the copy whereof I send unto your lordship) according to which the Lords do write their letters.

The Lord of Belfast [1] attendeth here still. He offered £500 as a *voluntary* gratuity; so that he might be discharged of this employment. Mr. Dickenson goeth with him; and, at his return, he shall be clerk of the council in ordinary; and Mr. Cottington, secretary to the prince. My Lord of Belfast hath given advice to have £20,000 sent to make provision for victuals, whilst the passages are open to the Palatinate; but there is not yet so much money underwritten; though it hath been reported there was more a good while since.

My Lord of St. Albans is like enough to come again to the council table. The king hath given a special warrant to the lord treasurer to pay him £1200 a-year pension.

The voice is here that we shall lose the Bishop of Spalato: he preached a sermon at Mercers' Chapel, wherein he seemed to be well inclined towards the Roman Church. *Salus habenda in Ecclesia Romana* was one of his positions; and another, that he did not preach against any heresies, but errors in that Church.

[1] Sir Arthur Chichester, created February 23, 1612, Baron Chichester of Belfast for his military and civil services in Ireland, where he had been lord deputy and lord high treasurer. He was brave and skilful, and a short time after the date of the above letter, whilst acting as ambassador to the Palatinate, to treat with the Emperor, he was besieged in the city of Mannheim, by Tilly, who to his remonstrances sent word that he noticed not his being an ambassador. "Had my master sent me," answered Lord Belfast with spirit, to Tilly's messenger, "with as many hundred men as he hath sent me on fruitless messages, your general should have known that I had been a soldier, as well as an ambassador." He died in 1624.

The Earl of Berkshire[1] did lately lay violent hands upon himself, by shooting off a cross-bow, into his bosom. I send your lordship a Chaucer, and the almanacks of this year, and the king's declaration.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 15, 1621-2.

The Lord Digby is not yet gone, but is said, may stay yet ten days. Nor do I hear that the eleven commissioners for Ireland are yet gone. There is a post going into Germany, and, as is said, carries bills of exchange with him for good sums. The lord keeper is not well since this day sennight, though on Tuesday he sat in Chancery, but keeps his chamber ever since.

The Earl of Oxford is still in the Narrow Seas, to look for the Holland 400 East India ships. He lies about the Isle of Wight, or Poole, hath with him the Victory, and Dreadnought, of the king's, with good merchant ships, and hath left us many of both sorts to wait in the Downs. The Dutch have divers men-of-war to guard them.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February, 1621-2.

My Lord of Oxford is gone to sea with ten ships, and it is thought his commission was to meet with the Hollanders as they came from the West Indies; because two Dutch ships in Plymouth Haven, had they not gone out in good time, it is thought, should have been surprised. But some talk as though he were come back again: others talk some other things. The pretence against the Hollanders is, for the wrong done to our merchants; which they have not fully satisfied.

There hath been a report all this week, of some hundreds of people gathered together to a rout in Wiltshire, or

[1] Francis, second Baron Norris, created January, 1620, Viscount Thame and Earl of Berkshire. His lordship appears to have found a difficulty in keeping on good terms either with his associates or with himself, for he was committed to the Fleet for an assault upon Lord Scroop in the House of Peers, when Prince Charles was present, and then, having no one else to quarrel with, attacked himself in the manner described in the text, of the effects of which he died.

Devonshire, or both, of such, as they say, as are undone by the decay of clothing; and, therefore, will take what is not given them. It is said that, hereupon, the council would enjoin the cloth merchants in London to buy the cloths in Blackwell Hall, but that they refused, alleging that they could not sell them again.

On Tuesday morning last, died our junior proctor, Mr. Parkinson,[1] he that acted Ignoramus. There were none of the fellows, nor others that watched, with him when he died. He had bid his sizer, who lay in his chamber, to put out the candle about eleven of the clock, and to go to bed, who once or twice called to him afterwards, and asking him how he did; but about one o'clock, or two, calling upon him again, he found him dead, and then called in the fellows, who, suggesting he had been in a swoon, rubbed him, &c. But he was no more. Mr. Mordaunt,[2] of Trinity Hall, is chosen for the rest of the year, and was admitted yesterday. Our orator,[3] also, they say, will not escape, being at death's door.

Mr. Parkinson had the advowson of Barton on the Downs, in Bedfordshire, the first and only advowson that the king hath given. There was an old man in it, almost bed-rid, when the king came into England; and he hath now outlived some three or more, who got the advowson of the king against he should die. And yet our Mr. More durst adventure upon it, and by means of his lord (we say) hath obtained it.

I have heard, last night, that my lord keeper was not well, but swollen much.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 16, 1621-2.

Your nephew came to you so well stored, that I doubt not but he hath made a full relation, and furnished you with whatever is here stirring. Whilst he was here, I was the less diligent, and shall not be very forward hereafter; as being discouraged divers ways, for the

[1] Thomas Parkinson. [2] Charles Mordaunt.
[3] Mr. George Herbert.

times are dangerous, and the world grows tender and jealous of free speech. The uncertainty, likewise, and variety of reports is such, that we know not what to believe of that done under our nose; and what is given out to-day for certain, is to-morrow contradicted. For, since two years that forge or mint was set up at Amsterdam, we have never left off coining, so apish are we in imitation of what is worst. Another reason: I shall not dissemble that I wax idle, and unwilling to take any pains more than needs.

The lords are almost tired with urging, and drawing on the benevolence from particular persons; and, therefore, having taken the cream of all hereabout, and sent for all the prime gentlemen of the bordering shires, to take the like course in the country, they have commended this town to the lord mayor's care, who exacts what he can get above (but not under) the whole sum that men are set in the subsidy; as, forty or fifty pounds of them that are so in the book, which riseth to the rate of seven subsidies and a half at least. Your brother Carleton is so terrified with the very rumour, that he writes me how unwelcome it will be in those parts, for divers considerations he sets down; and that it will be drawn from them with malevolence. He writes further, that letters are come down for the coroner, that the evidence touching the Earl of Berkshire's manner of death must not be urged, but the matter be made as fair as may be. It is generally thought, that Kit Villiers shall carry away his daughter. For all I have heard, or can learn, I see no cause of so desperate a resolution, but that he had *læsum principium*, and the want of God's grace.

Your great Bishop of Spalato is undertaking such another adventure, having required and obtained leave to go for Rome. He tarries yet for safeconduct; and, as he says, to clear the opinion might be conceived that he is employed from hence. He pretends ancient acquaintance and familiarity with this Pope; and that the Kings of Spain and France have undertaken for his security; beside hope of great preferments. The Spanish

ambassador is said to be the great architect in this business, and that he hath enchanted him into this fool's paradise.

Touching your States here, no doubt you know more than I can write. Sure, either they be in the wrong, or we do them great wrong; for the world here is generally distasted with their proceeding, and their best friends are fallen from them, seeing their perverse, wilful, and insensate dealing, as if God had infatuated and blinded their understandings, not to see that they do the Spaniard's business; and that all the world works to their ends, more than they could expect or almost wish. But, if it be *in fatis* that we should sink together, who can withstand it?

The Lord Digby's journey into Spain is deferred; but how, or for how long, I hear not. Some speak of an ambassador coming from the emperor, that must be heard before he goes.

Sir Robert Carey is made Baron of Leppington, in Yorkshire, and is to leave his place about the prince to Sir Thomas Savage.

Judge Chamberlain,[1] of the King's Bench, was married, on Thursday, to the Lady Berkley,[2] sole daughter to the last lord chamberlain, Hunsdon. He makes her jointure of £1000 a-year, and is to leave her £10,000 in money. Sir John Hobart is shortly to marry the eldest daughter[3] of the Earl of Bridgewater.[4]

Sir Henry Saville went to Eton, on Wednesday, in weak case, but well resolved in mind, and willing to depart when it shall please God to call; the rather, he sayeth, that having lived in good times, he doth fear or foresee worse.

The king is still at Newmarket, but expected here within ten or twelve days. He is to go the next week a-shroving to Sir John Croft's. That lady and her daughter Cecilie have been much at Newmarket of late.

[1] Sir Thomas Chamberlain, one of the justices of the King's Bench.
[2] Elizabeth, widow of Sir Thomas Berkley, son and heir of Henry Lord Berkley.
[3] Frances.
[4] John, son of the Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. He died December 4, 1649.

The Earl of Oxford came hither yesterday from sea *re infectâ;* for while he was providing somewhat he wanted at Portsmouth, the East Indian ships are said to have passed along by the coast of France into Holland.

The Lord of Doncaster is arrived this day. His lady, with physic, hath brought herself into a poor plight, and so overthrown and weakened her body, that it is doubted she will hardly hold out.

Here be certain verses made of Dr. Corbet,[1] Dean of Christ's Church, who, preaching before the king at Woodstock last summer, was so gravelled, that he was fain to give over; neither had he better luck in his play than in his preachings, for, thinking to mend the matter with a comedy of the Marriage of the Arts, it proved so tedious, as well for the matter as the action, that the king endured it with great impatience: whereupon the very boys and children flouted it with a rhyme:—

> "A marriage we had, but offering there was none,
> Save that the king offered—twice or thrice to be gone."

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 2, 1621-2.

In France, all goes on for the wars. The Lord Doncaster is returned with a few, and is said shall suddenly go back.

Spalatensis is yet prisoner in his house at the Savoy, having a guard over him till the king's coming hither.

The Lord Digby is said to have discharged the hired ships that should have carried his horses and unbaled stuff.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 23, 1621-2.

My Lord Doncaster is returned from France, and is to go back again, they say, next week. Dr. Balcanqual came

[1] Dr. Richard Corbet, advanced to the bishopric of Oxford 1629; to that of Norwich in 1632. His poems were collected in 1648, under the title of "Poetica Stromata." He died July 28, 1635.

with him, who is entering upon his advowson of the Savoy, for Spalato will be gone.

Sir Francis Nethersole, that was once our orator, is dead in Germany;[1] also Sir Henry Saville is lately dead, and the mastership of Eton and Merton College void. Mr. Murray, the prince's tutor, hath long had the advowson of the former; and it is affirmed, that our late great Lord Chancellor Bacon is an earnest suitor for the other; meaning, it seems, to spend his remaining days in a retired and scholastical life.

To-day, we bachelors of divinity are to choose Dr. Ward[2] Margaret professor, in Dr. Davenant's room.

Dr. Meddus to ———.[3]

London, March 8, 1621-2.

On Wednesday, my lord goes to Sherbourn, and so for Spain. I hear not his lady goeth, unless to Sherbourn. My Lord Doncaster is shortly to go back into France, and my Lord Chichester for the Palatinate.

This week my Lord of London told us (the clergy) that it would have done us good at the heart to have heard the pious declaration his majesty made before him, and some other of the bishops, concerning his sincerity and constancy for the maintenance of the religion established, and how much it grieved him that any should have a conceit to the contrary.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 9, 1621-2.

After the decease of Sir Henry Saville,[4] there was some doubt made whether the promise of his place to Thomas Murray might stand good; but after some little pause the king wrote to Eton, to have him elected and admitted. As for the wardenship of Merton College, 'tis yet in sus-

[1] This was an error.
[2] Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sidney College, in Cambridge.
[3] Probably Mr. Mead.
[4] He died on the 20th of the preceding month.

pense; for though the fellows and seniors, with full consent, made choice of Mr. Brent, together with two other obscure persons, as the manner is, and offered him, with all the forms requisite, to the lord archbishop, who is to nominate; yet by reason the prince wrote in behalf of Sir Isaac Wake, my Lord of Canterbury makes stay till his highness be satisfied; and withal Sir Isaac's friends have made such means to the Countess of Bedford and the lord chamberlain, that many questions are made about the validity of the election, because two or three of the seniors are away, and for that they proceeded with such haste. But touching the seniors, two of those that were absent have already confirmed what was done: so that now the prince is come to town, it is likely the matter will shortly be ended. He came on Monday from Theobalds, where the king still continues by reason of a defluxion, first into his arm, but now it is fallen down into his leg, where it settles like a gout; but not so painful, but that he goes abroad in a litter to see his dear.

The States' ambassadors were there this week, but could not be admitted. On Shrove Tuesday they were feasted by Sir Edward Cecil with that temperance, that they came all sober away, as having had but six healths that went round.

Sir Henry Rich came thither post this morning from Petworth, whither he went with the Lord of Doncaster, who is to return shortly into France, if his lady's sickness will give him leave, and is said to lie now at the last cast.

The Lord Digby and his lady are still upon going. There passed some unkind speeches 'twixt him and the lord treasurer[1] about some money-matters, which the king would have to be forgotten.

One Boroughs,[2] that was secretary to the late lord chancellor, and hath an office of keeping the records in the Tower, is sent to call home the Countess of Arundel; but whether from the king or her lord I cannot say.

There is a match spoken of 'twixt the lord president's[3]

[1] Lionel, Lord Cranfield.
[2] John Burroughs, afterwards knighted, and made garter king at arms.
[3] Viscount Mandeville.

eldest son and the Lord Fielding's daughter, and that the lord president is like to succeed the lord keeper. But the world thinks he was well enough before, if he could so have kept him.

The commissioners for Ireland have orders to be at Holyhead by the 25th of this month, where a ship is to attend them for their transportation. Their allowance is 30*s*. a-day, to begin from the 20th of February, and every one hath £100 delivered him aforehand, by way of impress. I remember no more of their names but Sir William Jones, that was lately lord chief justice there, and is now a judge of the Common Pleas, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Thomas Blundell, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir James Perrot, Sir —— Penruddock, Sir John Jephson, and Thomas Crew.

The Lenten sermons keep their usual times before the prince. Here is a note of the preachers' names, as likewise a copy of certain letters 'twixt the Spanish ambassador and the Company of the Summer Islands. The other paper is, certain bitter verses of the Lord Denny upon the Lady Mary Wroth,[1] for that in her book of "Urania"[2] she doth palpably and grossly play upon him and his late daughter, the Lady Mary Hay,[3] besides many others she makes bold with; and, they say, takes great liberty, or rather licence, to traduce whom she pleases, and thinks she dances in a net. I have seen an answer of hers to these rhymes, but I thought it not worth the writing out.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, March 9, 1621-2.

In one of your former, you require of me Mr. Hare's picture, for Captain Harvey, which he may take at Ickworth (to which effect I write to Mr. Lock), and copy by what hand he likes best there. It was a happiness for that un-

[1] Mary, daughter of Robert, Earl of Leicester, and wife of Sir Robert Wroth.

[2] A romance, published in London in the course of this year, in folio, under the title of "The Countess of Montgomery's Urania," by the Lady Mary Wroth.

[3] First wife of James, Lord Hay, afterwards Earl of Carlisle.

fortunate gentleman to have so honest a friend as Captain Harvey about him; otherwise, his hypochondriacal humours might have carried him some such way as the Lord of Berkshire is gone, and as our strange bishop[1] is going through ambition and avarice, who doubtless will speed no better than a certain French Abbot de Beys, executed at Rome, whilst I was at Venice, for having used more liberty in his sermon at Paris than agreeth with the strict tenets of popery, though he went with employment from the queen mother, during her regency, and had a safeconduct sent him to Florence, without which, mistrusting his safety, he refused to advance further. But I believe he thinks the times are changed and grown to more mildness, as indeed they are to all strangers, who pass freely to and fro in the Pope's dominions and all other parts of Italy, without search or inquisition. But though the mesh be made wider, the net hangs still; which, if this present fish escape, he deceives my skill in that profession. I must confess I am apprehensive of the mischief he runs willingly and wittingly into (for he cannot be ignorant of the danger), as well for his own sake as for some other, who had a hand in his transmigration and conversion, and may suffer by consequence. And though all things else were past over, his book of the Council of Trent will never be forgiven him in the world, nor the next, as far as popes have power; and I doubt he will be forced to discover the misery of his *Pietro sauve Polano.*

We have here the ill news of Father Saville's decease, which I much lament, for the esteem I had of his virtue, merit, and interest in his fatherly and friendly affections. But I know he lived and died well, which is the accomplishment of happiness in this world.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 16, 1621-2.

Others write that the Bishop of London chode the clergy, for their supposed babbling of the likelihood of the

[1] Archbishop of Spalato.

alteration of religion, and commanded them to signify his majesty's declaration to the people.

I am told of a great falling out between my lord treasurer and my Lord Digby, insomuch that they came to *pedlar's blood* and *traitor's blood*. It was about some money which my Lord Digby should have had, which my lord treasurer thought too much for the charge of his employment, and said himself would go in as good a fashion for half the sum. But Lord Digby replies that he could not peddle so well as his lordship can.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 29, 1622.

Sir Peter Hayman, being sent for to the Lords, was first commanded to attend almost a fortnight, and then, on Wednesday last, was enjoined, within ten days, to be ready himself, with two men and three horses, to attend the Lord Chichester into the Palatinate, at his own charges.[1]

The emperor's ambassador was left Tuesday night at Dunkirk, expecting a good passage hither, where he is expected (Denmark House being provided for him), within five or six days.

The two ships which were appointed to wait at Plymouth, and transport my Lord Digby into Spain, upon the way met a Flemish ship, weary and laden with Eastern commodities, to eighty or a hundred thousand pounds value, and, seizing upon her, brought her into the Downs. But the States' ambassador, complaining to the king how unkindly it would seem in all Christian princes' eyes, if their goods should be seized by marque, while they treated, and offered all satisfaction to his majesty in their present differences, his majesty commanded her to be let go, and

[1] Sir Peter was a member of the lower House of Parliament, and by his conduct gave such deep offence to the king, that he was punished in the arbitrary manner mentioned in the text. Indeed it had become now quite a system, as in the instance of the poor old cheesemonger, noticed at p. 289, if any person of property showed symptoms of restiveness at the illegal exactions by which he was victimized, to send him on some expensive and troublesome errand to the Palatinate.

since also hath recalled my Lord of Oxford's commission. So that his voyage to sea is at an end.

The late Earl of Berkshire's daughter sent a contract, under her own hand, to Mr. Wray, of the bedchamber, and they are said to be married on Wednesday last, which must need vex Mr. Christopher Villiers.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, March 30, 1622.

Mr. Downham was with me on Monday, new come from London. He told me that it was three years ago since those verses were delivered to the king in a dream, by his master, Buchannan, who seemed to check him severely, as he used to do; and his majesty, in his dream, seemed desirous to pacify him; but he, turning away, with a frown ing countenance, should utter those verses, which his majesty, perfectly remembering, repeated the next day, and many took notice of them. Now, by occasion of the late soreness of his arm, and the doubtfulness what it would prove, especially, having by mischance fallen into the fire with that arm, the remembrance of the verses began to trouble him. But, they say, it was but a former issue, which had been some two or three years stopped, by the advice of his physicians, and now being to break out again, did somewhat pain and distemper his body. But now, God be thanked, he is well and cheerful.

He told me also that the prince gave the Lord Digby a commission, subscribed with his own hand, to consummate the marriage;[1] and that he was so eager to have him gone, that, in my Lord Hobart's absence, for haste, they broke open his closet, where the commission was.

At the States' private audience with the king, his majesty put out the marquis himself, whereat he was observed to express his discontentment in his countenance, as biting his lip, &c. He also told me what were the unreasonable demands of the King of Spain; whereupon, the French, for a while, seemed to be broken off, as you have

[1] With the Infanta of Spain, to negociate which Lord Digby was commissioned to proceed ambassador to Spain.

heard; viz., that two of them were, that his majesty and his son should reconcile to Rome, and become Catholics, because that his holiness, without whose consent he could do nothing in this case, would not otherwise give way to it. Nevertheless, he would still permit his subjects to enjoy freely their religion, if so he himself and his son would return unto the bosom of their mother.

Secondly. That his majesty should surrender, unto the King of Spain, Virginia and the Bermudas, and altogether quit the West Indies.

He affirmed unto me that there were two of them for certain, which, if true, is very strange.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 6, 1622.

Though pickle be sweet while it is fresh, yet time will make it sour, and though there be no danger in my letters, whilst report is so ripe, yet when it is forgotten they will not be so safe. But your danger is as great as mine.

If the Wonder of the Starlings be a fable, my greatest loss is but threepence, which I paid for the book[1] I sent you. I heard as much before, but not so peremptory as yours. For the prince, inquiring of a knight out of Ireland concerning the truth of it, he assured him that, as for any wonder or miracle, it was a mere tale; but there is in the suburbs of Cork an old house or abbey, where starlings, in time of year, used to build, and whither they flocked, as their wont is, at the time mentioned; and, being many together, fell to fighting, so that some were taken up upon the ground either hurt or maimed. And this, he affirmed, was all, and the ground of that report. But, howsoever, the very report of strange things, though false in some men's judgment, is not to be contemned, because it hath been observed that prodigious reports are

[1] A pamphlet printed at London, in 1622, entitled, "The Wonderful Battle of Starlings, fought in the city of Cork, in Ireland, the 12th and 14th of October, 1621. As it hath been credibly informed by divers noblemen and others of the said kingdom."

sometimes as ominous as the truth, if they were real. It is sampled by the late King of France, of whose death there was a report, upon no ground, some two years before his death, whereof Owen has an epigram, telling him that it was a warning of his end not far off.

My Lord Verulam's History of Henry VII. is come forth. I have not read much of it, but they say it is a very pretty book who have read it. The price is six shillings.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 12, 1622.

Yesterday was a busy time with the training and finishing of 6000 citizens, in St. James's Fields, before the prince, where Count Schwarzenberg, the emperor's ambassador, was; but not the Lord Gondomar of Spain, nor perhaps durst, though he need not have feared. It seems this ambassador comes to labour for a cessation of arms and a truce, upon a pretence that both the Palatinates shall be restored to the king's son-in-law, and he and his children received into favour as princes of the emperor; but to leave the Electoral dignity in suspense for further treaty. For which purpose Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the Exchequer, goes ambassador to Brussels, there to treat of it.

Two of the great Landgraves of Hesse's council are here with his second son, a brave and learned gentleman, of 18 or 19 years old, having in equipage, besides these two, a gentleman usher, three gentlemen of his bedchamber, two gentlemen pages, with other servants and footmen, who tell me that this was the only fear in Germany, that now the Protestants were strong enough, (God be thanked) in human reason, to regain all that is lost, then the emperor should persuade us to a new treaty, though perhaps of little trust, and thereby the Protestants dismissing their forces, (as not able to keep them together but in action) then the treaty may break off *re infectâ*, and the emperor be thereby enabled to do again what he list; which now he cannot. But God, I hope, will dispose better of all things than we conceive.

Colonel Gray is here from Count Mansfield, and is thought, underhand, to oppose the emperor's ambassador, and to desire his majesty to be still neutral, and not to meddle at all therewith.

This day sennight, Dr. Winiffe,[1] preaching at Whitehall, before the prince, on the last words of the 1 cap., Pet. xxii., ver. 11, "*Which was against the soul,*" was first commanded to his chamber for comparing the Palatinate to the soul, and Spinola to the devil; but that God, our great king, would deliver the one, and destroy the other. Afterwards he was committed to the Tower, where he lodged the Lord's-day at night; but was delivered the next day by the prince's servant's motion to the Lord Gondomar, who would not be seen in it himself, but caused the emperor's ambassador to send unto the king for his releasement, and obtained it.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 13, 1622.

It is talked that Gondomar should have been gone, but that his majesty will have him stay till my Lord Digby's return.

Mr. Wray is turned out of the bedchamber, for marrying the late Earl of Berkshire's daughter, whom Kit Villiers looked for. Dr. Winiffe,[2] who, for comparing in a sermon the surprisal of the soul to Mr. Spinola's usurping of the Palatinate, was committed to the Tower, by petitioning unto the emperor's ambassador, which was enjoined him, is released.

The last lord deputy of Ireland[3] took away from the Protestants their arms, and caused a minister's wife, who, in her husband's absence, denied his musket, though she was great with child, to be whipped; whereat his son was much offended.

Our master's sermon (saith mine author) was touching

[1] Thomas Winiffe, educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He was made Dean of Gloucester in November, 1624, of St. Paul's, in April, 1631; and Bishop of Lincoln, in 1641. He died in 1654.

[2] "He was the prince's chaplain: one whom the Oxford men used to set against our Mr. Senhouse."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

[3] Sir Oliver St. John, afterwards Viscount Grandison. He died December 29, 1630.

the necessity of confession to the priest: but certain it was but convenience; and then no great hurt.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 19, 1622.

The last Lord's-day, his majesty feasted the emperor's ambassador in the Parliament House. During his abode there, he [1] ran at the ring, and tilted with the Lord Montjoy, who had always much the better of the ambassador. On Wednesday he departed hence, and, as is said, Spalato with him.

The governor of Cambray, an old Spanish soldier, is expected here for Lieger; after whose coming the new ambassador goeth away for Spain.

The Earl of Arundel is said not to be well, and the Earl of Oxford is in the Tower, with whom were eight of the lords, and others of the council yesterday.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, April 20, 1622.

I hear that the imperial ambassador, commending our king from his master for his endeavours for peace, and desiring him to continue still to compound these troubles as he had begun, his majesty's answer was, that he had indeed sincerely endeavoured peace when it would not be accepted; but now he knew not whether the time were not past, and the accomplishing of it out of his power. If he could do anything, he would not be wanting.

Some talk as though the young Landgrave of Hesse's coming were to make offer of one of his sisters for our prince, in case that of Spain went not on. He had a sister which waited long for Prince Henry, which was reputed the finest woman in Europe; but I doubt she is disposed of otherwheres long ere this.

Count Mansfield hath set forth an apology of all his proceedings. It is at London, and I shall have it to-day. He hath a device for his ensign, a sun radiant, in an azure

[1] The ambassador.

field, dispelling, as it were, certain clouds and mists into a corner. He cometh for his army with great store of rix dollars, wherein is this device, an arm coming out of a cloud, holding a sword with the point upwards thrust through a Jesuit's cap, with this motto, "*Amicus Dei et omnibus ejus inimicis inimicus.*" This was showed me just now in a new book of relations, which a gentleman brought from London.

The emperor's ambassador was with Gondomar in the Exchange on Monday. The emperor's ambassador took the upper hand: they cheapened some commodities. On Sunday he was feasted at Whitehall, and had a banquet, which in sugar-works represented a complete army of horse and foot, with drums, ensigns, &c. They say he was placed at the end of the board, above his majesty. There was six cart-loads of plate, brought from the Tower, at this banquet, wherewith two stately stages were furnished, one very large and spacious, valued at £200,000; and the other far less, but valued at £500,000. All was sent back to the Tower the next day.

On Saturday was the Earl of Oxford committed to the Tower: the reason not known.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 26, 1622.

Sir Richard Weston, chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Dickenson, with whom went Sir Anthony Magnie, a great papist, and more of the stamp, on Monday last, at five o'clock in the morning, went hence towards Brussels, to treat with the emperor's ambassador and the Infanta's commissioners, concerning the matter of peace and restitution. The Lord Chichester is appointed to go the next week towards the Palatinate, if it still hold.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, Cambridge, April 27, 1622.

My Lord Vaux's companies, that were at London and elsewhere levied, some are gone, and some returned again,

as utterly refusing to serve against the Hollanders, complaining they were cozened, being taken up to serve in the Low Countries, which they conceived to be all under the Hollanders.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 27, 1622.

The Tuesday before Easter the Earl of Oxford was committed to the Tower, and his minion, Hawley, to the Gatehouse, for idle and unfit speeches touching the king and his government. The Lady Greisly, in whose house it happened, Mr. Meautys, Glover, and others, were examined in the business; but the prime accuser is said to be one Damport, that belonged to the late lord chancellor.

Captain Walsingham, that had been a pirate, was sent to the Tower about the same time; for being employed in the voyage to Algiers, and ill satisfied for that service, at his coming home he began to prattle of returning to his old occupation, and for that purpose of surprising the Dreadnought, one of the king's ships.

Sir Robert Mansell, and the rest of the crew, are nothing well paid neither; insomuch that Sir Richard Hawkins, the vice-admiral, finding his reckoning come short of what he expected, of mere grief and discontent sunk down before the lords, and died the next day.

Mr. Hales did not preach at court this Lent, as was appointed, but desired to be spared, as pretending to nothing but to live quietly, and, therefore, was willing to resign his room to some that had more ambition to show themselves; so that one Dr. Bates supplied his place, who had the fortune to have the king present, which he had not been, on a week day, all the Lent long.

The tilting, that should have been on Monday, was, by reason of wet weather, put off till Thursday, and then deferred till the 18th of the next month; and the second part of the masque till the 20th, for that the king was suddenly taken with the gout, or some such infirmity, in his knee. The prince is nothing pleased with these delays, if it could be remedied; the rather, for that now he twice or

thrice had all readiness, and, as was said, was desirous to make show of the favour of a feather he had from his Spanish mistress. He was the last week at the Lady of Bedford's, about the concluding a match 'twixt the Lord Bruce and her niece, Mrs. Chichester.

The Marchioness of Buckingham was churched on Thursday, in the king's chamber; where, likewise, she and the Duchess of Lennox dined, though the king were in bed.

The contagion of her disease hath taken hold of Lady Bess Shelton, and the old countess hath not been well these three or four days; so that they cannot tell what it may prove.

The king sent lately a fair chain of diamonds, with his picture at it, valued by jewellers at £3600, by the prince and lord marquis, to the Duchess of Lennox, for her great care and pains in making broths and caudles, and such like, for the lady marchioness in her sickness; so that the duchess grows in great respect, and is said to be much courted and respected by the prince.

Here is one Knight committed for overreaching in a sermon at Oxford, so far as to say, that if kings grew unruly and tyrannical, they may be corrected and brought into order by their subjects: which doctrine is so extravagant, that the king threatens to have the copy of it publicly burnt by the hangman as heretical.[1]

The emperor's ambassador went away last week, with a present of a chain of diamonds of £2000. The Bishop of Spalato went with him, *in mal hora*, as the Italian says, if I be not deceived. Sir Richard Weston went towards Brussels the other day, with £1500 impressed, as I hear; and the Lord Chichester is to go the next week, with allowance of £6 a-day. The barges go down this day to Gravesend, to bring up the new Spanish ambassador.

We hear the commissioners have arrived in Ireland, and that their first work was to begin with the Mayor of Dublin. The deputy is not within their reach, but comes over presently to clear himself here.

James Palmer is sworn of the bedchamber, in Mr. Wray's

[1] In a few years, this extravagant doctrine was preached to a better purpose.

room; and one Turpin, in place of Kit Villiers, who is made a viscount; as, likewise, Sir Thomas Beaumont, who hath no great store of land left: but the king will supply what is wanting to Villiers.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 3, 1622.

On the last Lord's-day came hither Don Carolo de Columbo, the new Spanish ambassador; fetched in with twenty-one coaches, lodged at Ely House, and is to be presented the next Lord's-day, if his majesty be well, as he hath not been these ten days.

All the former prisoners are still fast. Mr. Christopher Villiers is Viscount Thame.

The Earl of Arundel[1] *to the Earl of Carlisle.*[2]

May 13, 1622.

I do gladly apprehend any occasion of commending my love and service unto you, and should be glad, for the public good, to hear more probability of a peace in France; which, if it should not be likely to be so soon as wished, yet I hope we shall have this benefit by it, that we shall enjoy your good company the sooner, which is much desired.

Your noble care of my wife,[3] made her command her servant, which she hath sent expressly hither, if he came anything near you in France, to have attended your lordship, and have given you a particular account of an accident which hath lately befallen her at Venice, which, since he could not do, I will take the boldness to supply it, though not so particularly.

Your dear friend, Sir Henry Wotton, sent unto her, being gone for a few miles to take the air, some ten miles from Venice, his secretary, with a letter of credence, and a message besides by word of mouth, to this effect: that he

[1] Thomas, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, earl marshal, created Earl of Norfolk, June 6, 1644; he died, October 4, 1646.

[2] Then ambassador extraordinary at the court of France.

[3] Aletheia Talbot, daughter and sole heir of Gilbert, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury.

heard, by sure intelligence, that the Senate had resolved to intimate unto her, her departure out of the city of Venice within a few days, and out of the State within a few days after, in respect that it was discovered that Foscarini, who was executed, had often met with foreign ministers (which, after, be named to be the pope's nuncio and emperor's agent) at her house: and, therefore, he advised her to stay abroad, to avoid the disgrace, till she heard further from him. This his secretary delivered unto her on her way to Venice; first privately, and after she made him deliver the same before some others there present. Whereupon she held on her way to Venice, and went immediately to my lord ambassador, telling him she came to hear from his own mouth what she had done from his servant's; which delivered in effect as before, divers of her company being by. She asked him, how long he had heard of this? He said, of the report, some fifteen days or more; but, of the States' resolution, not until that morning. She asked him, why he did never let her understand of it all that time? He said, because she spoke not to him of it. She said, it was hard for her to speak to him of that whereof she had never heard the least rumour till that day; and protested earnestly she never saw Foscarini since he was in England, he having only said he would visit her; nor never heard, directly or indirectly, from any of those public ministers named. Whereupon he said, he believed there was then no such matter. She desired him to produce his authors from whom he had it, which he would by no means, but wished her to be quiet, and that he would inquire further of it. She told him it must not rest so, but she would appeal to the duke for justification of her honour, which was dear unto her. Which the next morning she did, though much contrary to his persuasion and desire; where she had that good success, which your lordship will discern by the papers which herewith I send you. And after received so many public demonstrations of honour and favour from that State, as are not usual.

For Sir Henry Wotton's part, I will only say this, that if she had either been amazed with the suddenness and

confidence of his first advertisement, and so have retired herself as he wished, or afterwards let it rest, as he advised, her honour had been destroyed. But I thank Almighty God she was guided by a better spirit, which protects innocency, and turns the wickedest intentions to quite contrary effects.

Your lordship sees how boldly the confidence of your favour makes me trouble you. I must earnestly entreat another favour from your lordship, which is, that you would be pleased to procure an effectual commandment from the French king, in writing, that my wife be used with all humanity in his kingdom, have leave to carry weapons and pieces to defend herself in these broken times, as also her carriages not to be searched and ransacked; and that, if occasion shall be in any part, she be assisted with convoys for her safety. Whether she will come through France or not, or whether before or after the heats, I protest I know not; only I desire she may have all means for her safety. If this accident had not happened, and likewise an indisposition of our younger boy[1] with her (of whose perfect recovery I have not yet heard), she had been, ere this, come out of Italy. Now, I know not whether she can safely stir before the heats be passed.

I hear (God be thanked) my Lord Percy[2] is very well in health, and I conceive you will shortly see him in France.

All our news here, your lordship will hear from better hands, as the blows given on both hands. The king, our master, hopes for good effects of Mr. Chancellor's employment, though yet there hath not been time for much more than kind entertainment, and large profession of much kindness, and good meaning of the infanta's part. But an advertisement, that the Duke of Baviere[3] means to quit the pretence to the electorate, gives best ground of hope

[1] William, their third son.

[2] Algernon, afterwards tenth Earl of Northumberland. He greatly distinguished himself in the civil wars, on the side of the Parliament. He survived till the restoration, dying October 13, 1668.

[3] Bavaria.

to accommodate. God send all for the best, both in these affairs, and your troublesome negociations.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 31, 1622.

Our commissioners in Ireland seem weary of their employment, not being able to effect that they would to any purpose; and, therefore, each putting his majesty to thirty shillings a-day charges, they wish themselves back.

The Lord Say[1] hath been sent for about some words used in the country concerning the benevolence, as is also Dr. James, of Oxford. The said lord hath, by commandment of the lords, set the words he spoke down in writing, which some say were to this effect: "That he knew no law, besides by Parliament, to compel men to give away their own goods."

The Countess of Buckingham was become a flat Papist, but now, on Saturday last, is said to be reclaimed.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 8, 1622.

I saw a book this week of the marriage of our Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta, Maria, which I took at the first to be an epithalamium. The frontispiece was cut in a large 4to., with many devices; and, at the bottom, the prince and lady in their robes, and Christ, like a parson, joining their hands, and marrying them. The dedication was to Don Gondomar, a whole leaf and a half spent in his titles. The author wrote himself Michael de Val. It contained verses, and those, some of them, in Spanish, with many discourses both of the commendation of Spain and Spaniards, especially for fidelity above any nation. The praise of our king; an historical catalogue of all the marriages between us and Spain heretofore, and

[1] William, second baron, created Viscount Saye and Sele, July 7, 1624. He died April 11, 1662. His second son, Nathaniel, was a colonel in the parliamentary army, a commissioner of the great seal, a member of the privy council, and speaker of the upper house of Parliament, under the government of Cromwell.

their happiness; all objections against the match answered; the enmity of the nations; the difference of religion, and such like; the great advantages we, on our part, may expect thereby; and, amongst others, that we shall be in possibility of the kingdoms of Spain, the Indies, &c., if this king should die without issue; because the eldest sister publicly renounced her right to succession, when she was married to France, in regard that Spain could not succeed there by the Salic law. I know not what it means. They say it is prohibited to be sold openly, and that the king was offended at it. It was translated into English, but they say the printing was stayed.

All the Jesuits and priests, which were in prison at London, and elsewhere, were this week set at liberty. Mr. Jeremy told, on Thursday, that their number was 400; and that they were under bail to be forthcoming when they should be called for.

I doubt not but you have heard that the Countess of Buckingham was banished the court, and that for professed popery. But it was not directly so, nor for that cause; at least, not only. For she is not banished, but still stays there till the progress, and then to take occasion to go into the country, and return no more. The chief reason is said to be this: when the emperor's ambassador was departing, the king, meaning to bestow some jewel upon him, caused one to be fetched. A chain of Queen Anne's, of £3000 value, was brought him; but refusing to bestow it, being a woman's chain, and of that value, upon him, and saying, wherein had he deserved so much at his hands? another, of lesser worth, was brought, and pleased him. Then some question being made, what shall be done with the chain, the prince told his majesty, that neither of them both had yet bestowed anything upon the Duchess of Lenox since she was married. If his majesty would dispose of it in that way, himself would be the carrier, to present it in his majesty's name; and so should they have both thanks. The king assented; the prince carried it, and put it about her neck, which was taken by all for an extraordinary and unusual honour done

unto her. Which so grieved the countess, that such an honour should be done unto any but herself, and that a thing of that value and quality should miss her hands, that the next day she took upon her, in the king's name, to send for the chain again, pretending some use thereof; and that it should be requited with as good a thing. The messenger, who went in the king's name, and not in hers, being sounded by the amazed duchess, at last confessed he was sent by the countess, who had it from his majesty; whereupon, the duchess bade him tell the countess, that she would not so much dishonour the prince who brought it, to suffer it to be carried back by any hand but his, or her own; for, if his majesty would have it, she would carry it herself: which the next day she performed, desiring to know wherein she had offended his majesty. The king, understanding the business, swore he was abused; and the prince told him that he took it for so great an affront on her part, that he would leave the court if she staid in it: with no small expression of indignation. My author for this was Sir William Bounser, of Uppingham.

There hath, as the same gentleman, with others, tells me, been a conference lately between Dr. White,[1] and the countess's Jesuit, in the king's presence.

It is said, that the Spaniard, by means of an English man-of-war, hath conveyed above a million of treasure to Brussels; which the Hollanders watched for, and are much offended, and say they will hereafter search all English ships.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

June 15, 1622.

Upon Tuesday last, the Venetian ambassador, Signor Lando, for his farewell, received the honour of knighthood by his majesty's sword, and also by patent, wherein he had an addition to his own coat of a circumference of lions granted.

[1] Francis White, Dean of Carlisle, made Bishop of Norwich in 1628, and of Ely in 1631.

Monsieur Soubise[1] hath been here almost a fortnight; is often at court, and is well entertained there. Sir John Eyre and the merchants are not yet agreed. They charge him to have received, by tyrannous and forcible means, from the nation at Constantinople, almost £3000 more than his due. I send enclosed some of the passages betwixt them, which were showed to the Lords. I will not trouble your lordship with all.

There come daily more captains, to have licenses to carry over voluntaries for the King of Spain's service. I send your lordship the list of as many as have yet appeared; and all these have commissions, or will have, within these two days.

The enclosed note, containing the demands of Count Mansfeld,[2] &c., I found upon the council-table, after the Lords were risen from council: who brought it, or to what purpose, I know not, but this is the copy of it.

I send your lordship, also, a proclamation, published this day, concerning exportation of coin, &c. We are in daily expectation to receive moneys; but yet I have received none. My lord treasurer is become difficult. Sir Robert Pye is willing to do his best; but it lyeth all in my lord treasurer.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 22, 1622.

The new Venetian ambassador, Valeressi, had his first audience on Whitsun-Monday, and the next day, Lando, the old one, took his leave, and was knighted.

On Sunday, the lord mayor[3] went to Greenwich, to receive the like favour, where the recorder made a good speech, which was graciously accepted, and the suit granted, after some few memorandums to the lord mayor and his brethren, about Middleton's water,[4] the swarming

[1] Benjamin de Rohan, Lord of Soubise. He played a distinguished part in the reign of Charles, in connection with the Huguenots of Rochelle.

[2] A celebrated commander in the German wars of the seventeenth century.

[3] Sir Edward Barkham.

[4] The New River of Sir Hugh Middleton; into which the king had been thrown by his horse a short time before.

of beggars, the cleansing and removing the shelves of sand out of the Thames, the building of Paul's, and the like; wherein the Bishop of London had great commendation for his care and forwardness in that work: and, for an example, to lead them the way the king told them, he had allotted £2000 per annum for certain years; the prince, his son, £500; and most of the lords their several sums, as the Lord Marquis,[1] 200 marks; the lord archbishop, the lord treasurer, lord chamberlain, lord marshal, each £200; the lord president, 200 marks, *et sic de cæteris*, to the perfecting of that work.

The Countess of Buckingham received, on Sunday, in the King's Chapel, with both her daughters (though they had received before), and some others; and, for reward of her devotion and conformity, some say, she had a present of £2000. The Lord Marquis and she went the last week to take a view of New Hall, in Essex (which is the last remainder of the Earl of Sussex's patrimony), being in speech to buy it for the sum of £30,000.

The king means on Tuesday to be at Rochester, to overlook his navy, and to dine the next day at Cobham, to see if that Lady of Kildare may be brought to part with it to the duke and duchess,[2] upon reasonable conditions.

There be divers young alliances and unripe marriages made, or in speech to be made, about the court, as the Lord Marquis Hamilton's eldest son[3] was lately married to the Lord Fielding's eldest daughter,[4] in the king's chamber. The second sister is designed to John Murray's eldest son; the Lord Fielding's son to the Earl of Desmond's[5] daughter and heir; the Lord Digby's son to the Lord Hamilton's daughter; and others I have heard, which I do not now remember. The world talks likewise of divers new earls to be made—as Kit Villiers, if he can be taken off his wench, Earl of Berkshire; the Lord Fielding, Earl of Coventry; the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Kendal; the Lord Doncaster, Earl of Carlisle; the Lord Digby,

[1] Buckingham. [2] Of Lennox.
[3] James, beheaded by the parliament, March 9, 1648. [4] Mary.
[5] The last earl was Gerald Fitzgerald, an officer in the service of the emperor, who died in 1632.

Earl of Bristol; and, perhaps, the Lord President, Earl of ——.

John Murray is become a gentleman of the bedchamber, and must be made somewhat; but whether an earl or viscount of England, Scotland, or Ireland, is not yet resolved, being indifferently, or, as it were, equally provided for in all those places. His office of groom is bestowed on one Brett, brother to Lady Cranfield.

Monsieur Soubise is still here, but removed from lying in an inn, for the captain of the guard hath lent him his house in Drury Lane.

Not long since, I met with your old friend, Tobie Matthew, and we had long conference. He continues his course, and lodgeth at Bedford House, with the late lord chancellor.[1]

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 22, 1622.

Yesterday was "Parceus's[2] Commentaries"[3] burnt in the Regent Walk.[4]

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

June 22, 1622.

My lord treasurer hath lately found out this means to spare the king's purse—that all agents abroad shall have no allowance for intelligence, and ambassadors but £400

[1] Bacon.

[2] David Parcus, or Parc, professor of divinity at Heidelberg. He was a Calvinist, and published some controversial works in support of his faith against the opinions of the Lutherans. He was much respected by the German princes of the same religion, and under their patronage published, in 1589, a commentated edition of the Scriptures. He took his doctor's degree in 1593, having the year before been elected an ecclesiastical counsellor. His reputation for learning was still farther extended in 1617, by his publication of the work mentioned in the text, which was "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to absolute monarchs; and James, as usual, finding the arguments unanswerable, committed the puerile folly of handing the book over to the hangman, to be consigned to the flames. The author died in 1632; and his son, John Philip, also a learned scholar and voluminous writer, published his exegetical works at Frankfort in 1647, in three volumes, folio.

[3] On the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, wherein the author defends the doctrine of resistance to princes.—See *Collins's Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., pages 724 and 725.

[4] In St. Paul's Churchyard.

a-year; that neither agents nor ambassadors shall have any allowances for transportation; and if they come home, not being sent for by the king, their entertainment shall cease until they return to the king's service. Every ambassador ordinary shall have £4 per diem, an extraordinary, £5; a knight, if he be a privy councillor, shall have equal to a baron, which is £6 per diem; a viscount shall have £7, an earl £8, a marquis £9, and a duke £10, per diem. All this is already agreed. They are to forbid the granting of reversions hereafter, and to make those void by law that can be made void; the others to be left to a parliament. The fees of captains for keeping of castles and forts shall be taken away: they will go in hand with supernumerary officers.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 28, 1622.

His majesty, the prince, &c., were feasted on Tuesday night at Cobham Hall, by the lord duke.[1] On Wednesday, early, he went to Chatham, viewed the navy, and came back to Greenwich that night.

Countess of Shrewsbury[1] to the Lords of the Council.

July, 1622.

May it please your lordships—that notwithstanding your honourable care for the delivery of the warrant for my liberty, I have not yet received it. His majesty hath signed one, and your lordships another. I have often sent, but am still delayed. My assured hope is, that your lordships, after this long delay, will be pleased that I may have the benefit of his majesty's warrant. Mr. Secretary Calvert sent me word, that though I had been long delayed, yet it was for my good; for now I was clearly discharged, where before I was confined. I am not in for * * *, felony, nor treason. No lord nor lady that hath been from hence this twelve years (for so long it is since, in my old

[1] Of Lennox.

[2] This poor lady was still a prisoner in the Tower, and her only offence was her fidelity to the unfortunate Arabella.

age, I have been placed in this Tower) hath been confined to any man: the worst was to their own house, or such places as they made use of. I beseech your lordships that I may not be a precedent of miserable fortune. I was committed by your lordships; my fine was £20,000, for which my whole estate, lands and goods, were taken out of my hands, and so to this day doth continue, about five years since. Others that were fined at £30,000, paid some £5000, some £10,000, and that in divers years. Again I presume to beseech your lordships to procure me a more happy end, than in all things to be a spectacle to the world of miserable misfortune. His majesty did graciously, about three years since, relieve me, and so divers times since; but by procuring my servants to forbear the taking out of my warrant, I could receive no benefit of his majesty's gracious favour to me, and so remain a miserable creature, for want of health, liberty, and means to relieve myself, and to do those things which I am bound before God and the world to perform. I am well assured it is not his majesty's intent that I should endure so many strange wrongs; but one of my miseries is, that I have none that will truly inform his majesty. Since I was fined and committed by your lordships, give me leave, without offence, to beseech your lordships most humbly, in my behalf, to move his majesty to put an end to my long delayed cause, which depends wholly on his justice and favour. There never was confinement spoke of in all the times his majesty released me, nor in my warrant, when I formerly went out of the Tower. My griefs make me . . . too tedious to your lordships; therefore I will leave it to your lordships to show what compassion you think fit, and will pray to the Highest ever to guide and protect you.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 6, 1622

On Sunday, in the face of the whole commencement assembled, Mr. Lucie[1] preached a sermon totally for

[1] My lord marquis's chaplain, a kinsman. He hath a mandate for the mastership of Trinity College in reversion; and yet owned but bachelor in divinity's standing.—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

Arminianism, wonderfully boldly and peremptorily, stiling some passages of the contrary by the name of blasphemy. Yesterday a combination gathered in the town, and went to the vice-chancellor to have him censured, and yet the same day he propounded his grace for bachelor in divinity in the Regent House against the next year; and though the faction was strong against him, yet he carried it by main force, though this be a favour not ordinary for every one to have his grace before this year. What it means, and what the event will be, I know not. Either he has had some encouragement, or else he used not so much discretion as he might, considering the time and place so public.

We talk here that there were a dozen or fourteen Jesuits at our commencement. There arrived lately at Lynne one with trunks and boxes, whereof he was so nice, that he caused the searcher to see what he had, who found with him a wonderful rich altar of amber, a yard long, and three quarters wide, with divers brave and curious saints laid in their beds. Fearing the discovery of all, he got what he could carry with him, and slipped away from them down the river to Cambridge. But being discovered which way he went, the searcher made after him, at length got sight of him, and dogged him hither. He housed himself at Hanson's; would have hired a horse for London, but was apprehended, and brought before the vice-chancellor on Monday morning, who found with him a wonderful curious chalice, with a rich cover, all of amber. In the cover, a picture of some young prince; some say, the King of France; but others come more near to us at home. The vice-chancellor having then no leisure, bestowed him till the commencement was past. What they will do with him I know not.

Mr. Thomas Locke to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 12, 1622.

A messenger is come from Spain, and there are shows of great entertainment; but nothing to be answered for the Palatinate till Sir Richard Weston's letters were come; nor

of the match, till the Lord Gondomar were come to the Spanish court. The Lord Doncaster is on his way homewards, *re infectâ*, and some think the like will be done, ere long, by the Lord Digby.

There are four new earls, and it is said there shall be four dukes. The earls are, the Lords Doncaster, Earl of Kendal; Digby, Earl of Bristol; the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Middlesex; and Lord Fielding, Earl of Denbigh. The dukes I doubt of.

I had most forgotten that all our people in Virginia, in all places, should, on March 22nd, at eight in the morning, under pretence of friendship, have been murdered by the natives; and had been, had not an Indian boy the night before discovered it to his master, who, all night, sent about to give notice; yet, in Martin's hundred, too far off to have notice, almost all were slain, as namely, 329.

There was a strong report here that the Spanish match was broken off; but Mr. Gresley came from my Lord Digby two days since, and he speaketh of great entertainments, &c.; but no such matter.

The Venetian ambassador here had delivered something to the king, (by commandment from that State) touching a match betwixt the Duke of Florence's son and the infanta, which made the report more credible.

Mr. Cottington cometh shortly from thence, and it is thought that he will be secretary to the prince.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 13, 1622.

This term is passed over without any matter of great note, more than that Sir Edward Coke is cleared in the Court of Wards by the sentence of all the judges that were present at the hearing of the case (and by consent of the rest) at Serjeant's Inn, that he was neither in law nor conscience to be charged with anything touching the extent, either toward the king, or toward his heir; which comes ill to pass for Sir Thomas Hatton and Mr. Gibbe, who followed the suit at great charge, and were to have had a great share of it, if it had hit right, for Sir Henry

Yelverton spoke it openly and confidently in court, that he would not abate him sixpence of fifty thousand pounds in arrearages, which morsel they had half devoured, but now may say, *quantâ de spe decidi?* I hear this censure is nothing pleasing, and that the judges must show good cards, and be ready to give a good account of their doings.

This week the Charles, a rich ship, of eight hundred tons, is arrived here from Bantam, and gives hope of one or two more coming after. Another, likewise, is come from Virginia with ill news, that the savages have by surprise slain about three hundred and fifty of our men there. It was by their own supine negligence, that lived as carelessly and securely there as if they had been in England, in scattered and straggling houses, far asunder, whereby they were so easily subject to the surprise of those naked people, who, besides other spoil and booty, have possessed themselves of arms and weapons. But the best is, they have no skill to use them. Among them that are lost is one Captain Barclay and Captain Thorpe, whom I was well acquainted withal, and had been a pensioner. The disgrace and shame is as much as the loss; for no other nation would have been so grossly overtaken.

The last week, the Lord Bruce[1] married Mary Chichester,[2] niece to the Countess of Bedford, who hath lately sold Combe, a goodly thing in Warwickshire, to the Lady Craven, for £36,000.

The Lady Hatton hath bargained with the Duke of Lennox for her house in Holborn, rating it at £12,000 present money, or £2000 in hand, and £2500 a-year during her life; which latter condition is accepted by the duke and duchess. Marquis Buckingham is gone through with the Earl of Sussex for New Hall, for the sum of £22,000; who likewise is to resign to him the lieutenancy of Essex, which lies fitly to his other commands of Buckinghamshire and Middlesex.

The comptroller's staff is not yet bestowed, though there

[1] Thomas Baron Bruce, of Kinloss, created Earl of Elgin in 1633. and Lord Bruce, of Wholton, in Yorkshire, in 1641.

[2] Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Chichester, of Raleigh, in Devonshire.

be many pretendants, at least in name; as Sir Edward Villiers, (though some say he aspires to a place of more profit and less show) Sir Anthony Ashley, the Lord Grandison, Sir Edward Barret. But most voices run with Sir Thomas Wentworth, unless Sir Henry Rich should remove, to make Sir George Goring captain of the guard. There be divers others likewise in consideration, which either I have forgotten, or think unlikely, as Sir Henry Spiller, Sir Arthur Ingram, &c.

The secretary's place is likewise subject to the same variety; but the most in speech (beside Sir Thomas Lake) are Sir Edward Conway, Sir Richard Weston, (that so Sir John Suckling might succeed to be chancellor of the Exchequer) Sir John Ogle, who, they say, doth more labour for a friend of yours, as more affecting the place he now holds, because he hath been so long bred among them, and would show his abilities as well with tongue and pen as with the sword, and be *tam mercurio quam marti.*

These I represent unto you are the idle discourses that go about without any foundation, more than that men give themselves liberty to talk about all manner of uncertainties and unlikelihoods.

The Countess of Rutland and Sir Thomas Savage's lady are gone, or going, to the Spa, for their health, or some other errand. It is marvel we hear nothing yet of the Lady Arundel's return. It is said the Lord of Doncaster will be here very shortly. On Wednesday, Gresley, the Lord Digby's steward, came out of Spain, with word that he hath had two audiences, and that he finds *omnia bene.*

The king lay here on Thursday night, and went yesterday to Wanstead; the next week to Havering, to Theobalds, and so in a circle back to Otelands and Windsor, in all which places the ladies have their lodgings appointed, and go the progress.

Mr. Camden hath eight or nine score pound land a-year, to have an historical lecture at Oxford, and sending Mr. Heather,[1] of the chapel, (with whom he lodgeth) on the message, the University gave him his grace to be doctor

[1] William Heather, who founded the music lectures in the University of Oxford, and died in the latter end of July, 1627.—*Wood, Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i., 222.

of music: and this.... Mr. Giles,[1] master of the children of Windsor, and the chapel took the same degree with him.

PS. I heard yesterday that young Haynes is lately knighted by the king; and that the States had a great mischance on Sunday, their coach overrunning and killing a child in Broad Street.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

July 24, 1622.

The English ships that brought the money from Spain, (whereof there was a good quantity) was brought to the mouth of the river, towards London, and then there was warrant procured to let them go again; and so they are gone to Calais. The States have met but seldom of late; the abstract of what they have done is here enclosed. I send also a proclamation lately published.[2]

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

July 31, 1622.

My Lord of Doncaster returned hither to London upon Tuesday, the 26th of this. My Lord of Arundel, two days since, was in great danger with his coach: the horse cast off the coachman, and ran away with the coach; and he, leaping out of the coach, fell short, and, as it seemeth, the coach ran over him.[3] He is come hither to his house, but somewhat bruised.

The States' commissioners have done nothing since my last.

They say here now that Sir John Suckling shall be comptroller; but he payeth well for it.

I did, in my former, mention the alteration about the entertainment of ambassadors, &c., as I heard it by rela-

[1] Nathaniel Giles, famous for his compositions in music, who died in 1635.—*Wood, Fasti Oxon.*, vol. i., 222.

[2] The enclosures have not been preserved. This is the case in almost every instance.

[3] This was not the case. The only hurt his lordship received was in being very much bruised from the fall.

tion. Now I find it at large, as it was propounded at the board.

It seemeth that the States, and our commissioners, are now broken off quite; for there is an act of council to be made to this purpose, that whereas commissioners were sent from the States to treat about the wrongs offered to our East India merchants, to the dishonour of the king, the decay of trade, and the ruining of many private men; and that now, after so long time spent, they refuse to give satisfaction, our merchants are, therefore, left to take their remedy by course of law, or commission in the Admiralty Court.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 10, 1622.

I returned from Ditton the 7th of this present, where I had continued almost a whole month; and I stayed somewhat the longer, upon notice that the Bishop of Winchester [1] was to preach at Windsor the 5th day of August, which he did; taking his text from the 4th to the end of the 7th verse of the 24th chapter of the first book of Samuel. His voice grows very low, but otherwise he did extraordinary well, and like himself. I dined with him that day, and could not leave him till half an hour after five o'clock. The weather was so very hot, and he so faint and wet, that he was fain to go to bed for some little time, after he came out of the pulpit.

The Spanish ambassador was feasted there that day, where there passed only three healths, to the King of Spain; the Infanta, at Brussels; and the Infanta Maria, which the prince pledged with much ceremony. He and the Marquis of Buckingham went every evening into the water near to Eton, where the best swimming is, but so attended with choice company, and a boat or two, that there could be no danger. The new provost [2] feasted the Lord of Buckingham, with his lady, and all that company, on Sunday night.

Monsieur Soubise took his leave at Windsor, and is daily

[1] Dr. Andrews.

[2] Thomas Murray, tutor and secretary to Prince Charles. He died in April, 1623.

on his departure. I hear he had a jewel of £2000, and £3000 in money given him for a farewell. Your States were at Windsor the 8th of this present; but whether to take their leave, or for what other occasion, I know not.

The king went from Windsor on Wednesday, to some other parks and places thereabout, and comes this day to Farnham, where he continues six nights. Before his going, he gave order for the releasing of Sir Edward Coke out of the Tower; so that he comes forth on Thursday, and went to Stoke, where he is confined to six miles' compass. Some impute this delivery to his daughter Sadler's[1] earnest and continual solicitation; but I hear it was chiefly the Earl of Holderness's doing, as likewise the setting Sir Robert Phillips and Malory at liberty, who were discharged yesterday.

Mr. Ruthen, the Earl Gowrie's brother,[2] (that hath been a prisoner in the Tower ever since the king's coming in) was released the first of this month, and confined to Cambridge or Oxford, with a pension of £500 a-year.

And now, to make a complete gaol delivery, all priests, Jesuits, or other papists, imprisoned, are set at liberty, and are not henceforward to be troubled for saying, (or as I hear the words go) praying of mass, or refusing the oath of allegeance, supremacy, or the like. I have not yet seen the lord keeper's letter, that goes about; nor the letters patent under the great seal to this purpose, but by this example, those of our profession shall find more favour in foreign parts. It is likewise ordered, as I hear, that none of our preachers, under the degree of bachelors of divinity, shall meddle with any matter of controversy in the pulpit; and that all lectures shall be put down, saving on Sundays.

One Dr. Everard, that preaches at St. Martin's in the Fields, is committed to the Marshalsea, for saying somewhat he should not have done; and a substitute of his is in the Gatehouse, for a like cause.

I doubt not but you have heard of the Earl of Arundel's mischance; but he is now in a fair way of recovery, though it were reported, two days since, that he was dead; at

[1] Anne, wife of Ralph Sadler, Esq.
[2] Patrick Ruthven. His daughter married Vandyke.

least, his brain so crazed, and turned with the fall, that he will hardly ever be his own man. But as every man wishes him well or otherwise, so they make his danger more or less. He, and the countess his mother, dined with us at Ditton, not above a week before this accident.

The Lord Knevet died lately, leaving, in a manner, his whole estate to his lady.

Two days since, Secretary Calvert's lady went away in childbirth, leaving many little ones behind her.

Barnes and Hall, two mercers of Cheapside, of the best account, are driven to get a protection, which is next door to a bankruptcing. Two or three of our prime and principal taverns are likewise sunk and shut up.

We have had three new proclamations this week: one against transporting of wools, woolfels, fuller's-earth, and the like; another, forbidding mariners, seafaring men, shipwrights, or shipcarpenters, to serve any foreign prince, or State, without special license; the third, against four-wheeled carts or waggons, that with their weight mar and tear the highways.

The Lord Falkland [1] is not yet gone for Ireland, nor hath delivered up his staff,[2] till Sir John Suckling, who is to succeed him, and he be better and more fully agreed.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

August 10, 1622.

Since my last to your lordship, which was of this present, my lord treasurer hath signed some orders for the payment of moneys to your lordship, and is gone out of town, to see a great purchase that he hath bought in Sussex. Since he went, he hath given order to Sir Robert Pye, by letter under his hand, which Sir Robert Pye showed unto me, that he should not issue any money, notwithstanding the orders he had signed; which Sir Robert Pye findeth somewhat strange, but knoweth not how to help it, until it pleaseth his lordship to give other directions, which he hopeth will not be long. The like course is taken with

[1] Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland.
[2] Of comptroller of the household.

others of his majesty's ministers abroad, who had money ordered to be paid unto them, which is stayed in the same manner.

My Lord of Arundel is not yet well of the fall he had by leaping out of his coach, (whereof I advertised your lordship in my last) but it is thought that there will be no danger of his life.

The king hath been much offended for that many of his subjects here have of late passed into France in unusual troops; for restraint whereof letters are written to the ports. Mr. Secretary Calvert's lady died upon Thursday last. She had not been sick above two days. Some untimely childbirth was the cause of her death. I send your lordship the act of council that was made about the East India merchants, &c.

Sir John Eyres is about to hire the lodgings that Sir Francis Goodwin had. He will give me his answer within these two days. He has desired so long respite. He is to have it for a year at £30.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 7, 1622.

Dr. Gager died on Sunday morning last, and Dr. Eden vice-chancellor in his place.

When I came home, Dr. Owen, he that wrote *Herod and Pilate*, was printing a book here against Parceus[1], would, as they talk, have had the doctors and vice-chancellor to present it to the king in the name of the whole university, when they should next go to his majesty, at Michaelmas, as their wont is. But Dr. Richardson grumbled, and the rest would none of it. But now, it is said, that a pursuivant is come down, both for him and his books. He is well enough served; though it may be, he will at length, in regard of his good zeal to the cause, obtain leave to divulge them, though he break one of the rules in the directions.

[1] See p. 317, note 2.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

September 11, 1622.

The States have done little or nothing since my last. Our Lords have failed to meet twice or thrice, though the States were once there according to appointment, and lost their labour. The East India merchants are not the only men that complain, as it seemeth by the copy of the letter enclosed, which was lately written.

An Englishman came lately out of Spain, and reported, with great confidence, that he had seen the solemnization of the marriage betwixt the King of Spain's daughter and the Duke of Florence's son. Whereupon, being questioned before the council, he said that he was at a great solemnity (where he got in by chance) in the night, and, not understanding the language, it seemeth he met with some Spaniard or other, that meant to make a fool of him, and told him, that the King of Spain's daughter was to be married to the Duke of Florence's son; and with this news he came hither. Being asked by the council what manner of woman she was, he said she was a goodly tall woman; and so he quickly discovered himself; but he was laid by the heels for his labour. This is almost believed by the generality, notwithstanding.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 14, 1622.

There is another letter from the archbishop to all the bishops, concerning both a complaint of the misunderstanding of the former directions for preaching, and an explication and further declaration, both of the occasion and his majesty's intendment by them. It should seem by it, that there had been great talk and strange construction somewhere.

Dr. Donne preaches at Paul's, to-morrow, either to that purpose, to give satisfaction, or, as the Londoners talk, to teach men how to preach there hereafter; because the two last, Mr. Clayton, of Fulham, and Dr. Sheldon, went beyond the usual limits, as was thought; for which Clayton

is in prison, but Sheldon was only checked. Clayton told a tale of a great murrain of sheep in Edward the Sixth's days (I think); the reason whereof was, as he said, the coming of scabbed sheep, out of Spain; and he bade them look it in "Stowe's Chronicle." Sheldon's text was, Revelations, chapter xiv., verse 9. "If any man worship the beast, and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture in the cup of his indignation."

Dr. White was the last week made Dean of Carlisle, having, not above two or three days before, a living befallen him in London.

There is a declaration, by the council of Virginia, of the state thereof, and of the late massacre, which was most barbarous, and in the very midst of kindness on our parts. They took some of our ordnance, and some barrels of gunpowder, which Opocohontas, the king, caused to be sown, expecting a large crop of gunpowder this summer, thinking it would have grown.

The Mare Vermeio is discovered to lie directly north and south, and California to lie in like manner; not bending west at all, and to be an island,[1] which the Hollanders, through the Mare Vermeio, sailed round about, finding the sea open to the north thereof, and have sent a map of this discovery to Mr. Brigges, whose discourse thereupon discovering the Spanish knavery (in multiplying the number of leagues in those parts; as for 7, making 70; for 7 score, 700; to increase the longitude in those parts, and to make the world not dream of any passage there), is annexed to the aforesaid declaration. It is said, also, that Captain Button hath discovered *Hudson's passage* so far, as it is supposed he came up the Virginian Bay.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

September 25, 1622.

I am sorry that I can write nothing about the receipt of your moneys. I have spoken several times to my lord treasurer (who is now Earl of Middlesex), and told him,

[1] Since fully ascertained to be a peninsula.

that you were never so much behind as you are now. He telleth me that he will take such order, that you shall not be so much unpaid as you have been; and biddeth me have patience but a while. I inquire of Sir Robert Pye of the reason of this delay; and he telleth me plainly that there is no money yet. I find as much willingness in him as may be; but he can't do more than my lord treasurer will. You are now unpaid £2895. But the bills for intelligences for June, July, and August, are not yet delivered into the exchequer. Your lordship may please to send it; for I have recommended that amongst the rest, and Sir Robert Pye calleth for the bill. It may be, that there will be no alteration for all this.

The States proceed but slowly in their business. I was the other day speaking with Mr. Beaulieu, when Monsieur Aersans told him, that was *la huitiême corvée* that had been given them; they had been eight times at Whitehall, by appointment of our Lords, and lost their labour; wherewithal they were not very well pleased.

His majesty is now feasting at my Lord of Buckingham's, at New Hall, in Essex. There hath been as great preparation in that kind, as could be. This day, he cometh from thence, and stayeth here one day, and so to Hampton Court, and there four; and from thence to Royston and Newmarket.

The news of the loss of Heidelberg came hither about Saturday, the 21st of this.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, September 25, 1622.

Though the latter part of this summer proved so fair and seasonable, yet the harvest is scant, and corn at a great rate, by reason of the mildews and blasting generally over the whole realm; and most kinds of other fruits fail likewise, except melons, which, these two last hard years, have proved so extraordinary good, that I am fully persuaded whoso lives but a dozen years hence, shall see them in more perfection here than was to be expected in the climate. And the king is of opinion, that there is no

better 'twixt this and the Islands: wherein the Venetian ambassador doth the more confirm him, by saying, that he never ate better at Venice. Wherein I rather yield to his courtesy than his judgment; though, in truth, I have tasted very good this year, and such as, if they had been more forward, might have proved excellent.

All our talk and news is of your proceedings in those parts; and we are now in great hope that Spinola[1] will be put to a plunge, either to raise his siege, or to receive some blow. God send such a success as may be for a general good; otherwise, we are all in a poor case, though we be secure, and cannot believe it.

During my absence, here was little worth the writing, but the death of the Lord Knevet, and his lady not long after him, who left Mrs. Hampden, as sister of Sir Oliver Cromwell's, her sole executor, to a great value, as is supposed.

Sir Christopher Perkins is likewise dead, and his deanery of Carlisle bestowed on Dr. White,[2] a good old man, our learned lecturer for these two or three years in Paul's. The widow, Lady Perkins, is sister to the Countess of Buckingham, and mother to the Countess of Middlesex. Her husband was said to be a papist, or Jesuit, a doctor, a dean, a master of Requests, a knight, and what not.

On the 15th of this month, the Dean of Paul's[3] preached at the Cross, to testify the king's good intentions in the late orders concerning preachers and preaching,[4] and of his constancy in the true reformed religion, which the people, it should seem, began to suspect. His text was the 20th verse of the vth chapter of the Book of Judges;[5] a somewhat strange text for such a business;

[1] Ambrose, Marquis of Spinola, a celebrated commander in the service of the King of Spain. [2] Dr. Francis White. [3] Dr. John Donne.

[4] With relation to the points contested betwixt the Calvinists and Arminians, see Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, part ii., book vii., pp. 722, 723.

[5] This sermon, with a dedication to the Marquis of Buckingham, was published at London, 1622, in 4to., under this title: "A Sermon upon the 15th Verse of the xxth Chapter of the Book of Judges; wherein occasion was justly taken for the publication of some reasons, which his sacred majesty had been pleased to give of those directions for preachers, which he had formerly sent forth. Preached at the Cross, the 15th of September, 1622, by John Donne, doctor of divinity, and Dean of St. Paul's, London. And now, by commandment of his majesty, published as it was then preached." There is a typographical error in this title. It should be, vth chapter, 20th verse.

and how he made it hold together, I know not; but he gave no great satisfaction; or, as some say, spoke as if himself were not so well satisfied.

The Countess of Buckingham is relapsed into Popery, and makes open profession; whereupon she is sent from the court, and, as is said, confined to her house at Dalby, in Leicestershire. Some hold not that the only cause of her absence, but rather some pique or hard usage towards her daughter-in-law, the lady marchioness.

I hear of some rough and rude unkindness that passed 'twixt the Lord Lisle and the Lord of Doncaster, at Sion; but the matter was presently taken up by the duke, Lord Marquis of Buckingham, and the Lord of Northumberland, and they reconciled in show.

On the 13th of this month, the Lord of Doncaster was created Earl of Carlisle by patent; on the 14th, the Lord of Fielding, Earl of Denbigh; on the 15th, the Lord Digby's patent was sealed for Bristol; and, on the 16th, the lord treasurer's for Middlesex. And I hear Mrs. Bagnal should be made an Irish countess: a thing seldom seen before, for women to be so advanced, and overtop their husbands.

The king removed, on Sunday after dinner, from Theobalds to Havering, and so, the next day, to dinner at New Hall, the lord marquis's late purchase, where he confined his number to fifty, for fear of overcharging the owner. This day he comes to town, and to-morrow to Hampton Court. The purchase of New Hall is accounted a great bargain, when for £20,000 there is £1200 land a-year, besides the value of £7000 or £5000 in wood, and house that cost £14,000 in building, which is now altering and translating, according to the modern fashion, by the direction of Inigo Jones, the king's surveyor.

I hear that Tobie Matthew is gone to his father, with recommendation from the king, that as he did discountenance him upon the king's displeasure, so he would now receive him to favour, upon his reconciling to his majesty. His *fidus Achates*, Mr. Gage, is come from Rome, with a copy or draught of the dispensation for the Spanish match, on condition the king carry a good respect to the

Roman Catholics; which, no doubt, will be done in good measure, like the Spanish ——, as much forward as backward. Yet here be certain people that give out for certain, that the Infanta Maria is actually contracted or promised to the young Duke of Florence; and the Venetian ambassador gave notice of such a thing more than two or three months since, by order, as he said, from the signoria. But there was as little credit given to it then as now; and I am still of the same mind, that, though they dally or delay us for a time, yet they will not so grossly delude us altogether. Neither can I believe they are able to cast such a mist over the eyes of this piercing estate, but it would soon be discovered.

Harman, the post, makes show to be gone this day; whereupon I write now to return thanks for your two letters of the 15th and 27th of the last month, which I received at Ware Park, together with Sir Thomas Roe's relation, which I had seen almost a month before, and was so current in town that it is now printed; and I had a copy or book of it sent me last week into the country.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, September 28, 1622.

I am told that the Bishop of London, on Saturday, sent to him who was to preach on Sunday last, for the copy of his sermon. He that was in the house told the messenger, that he was then very private in his meditations, but he would take opportunity to tell him the bishop's pleasure. Yet it fell out that he told him not. Whereupon the bishop, growing thereby more jealous, sends for him on Sunday some hour before sermon. The preacher came, and, having made his excuse, the bishop began to give him good counsel, that he should take heed that he spake nothing which might be distasteful, or unfit for the present times. Then asks him what his text was, who told him, Galat., chap. i., verses 6 and 7. "I marvel that you are so soon removed from him, that called you in the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel. But there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ."

Whereat the bishop struck his hand upon his breast, swearing that that text was not allowable for these times. "No," said one of his chaplains that stood by, "the very [spirit] of the text is not tolerable for the present times." Then the bishop asked him if he could not change it. He answered, "No." "Well," said the bishop, "look to thyself; for if thou speakest anything that shall not please, I vow to break thy neck and thy back too." The preacher answered, he had nothing to speak but what he would stand to, and so was dismissed, being sermon time. Yet by and by, one of the bishop's chaplains came after him, and offers to preach for him, but he refused. So taking a little time to meditate, comes forth and makes a preface, relating the sum of the former passages, as an excuse if he were not so ready as he should have been, which much displeased the bishop; yet the whole sermon contained nothing but, in general, a discourse of the damnable condition of those who should forsake the faith they had received. Only he concluded, that they might expect some application, but he was not ambitious of lying in prison; and so ended.

I was told yesterday, by a gentleman out of Derbyshire, that some Papists there, on the borders of Lancashire, brought a great bear into the church while the minister was preaching; but a neighbour knight was so bold as to lay them all by the heels for it.

My Lord Peters, a Catholic, is said to be confined to his house, upon a complaint made to my lord keeper by some gentleman, for affirming confidently that his majesty and the prince were both Papists: which God forbid!

On Sunday, his majesty removed to New Hall, in Essex, to see my lord marquis's new house; but the unexampledness of a Sunday's removal, as they said, gave not much content to our people.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 4, 1622.

Sir Richard Weston is returned from Brussels, and landed here on Saturday. They say he tells the king,

that there is nothing intended but the ruin of his son in the first place, and of himself in the next place. My Lord of Digby is sent for home. Endymion Porter parts this day towards Spain; it is thought for present answer and satisfaction to all neglects. Sir Robert Naunton was sent for to the court on Thursday, and restored to favour. The council sit close and long, and the prince with them, daily; insomuch that, on Michaelmas-day, it was seven o'clock at night before the king could have them to attend him to chapel to the solemn offertory, which is usual to be had on that day.

It is said to be *in equilibrio* whether there shall be a parliament or no. Speak fresh that way.

There were eleven persons, men and women, cast away in the Thames, in the storm on Sunday night last.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 5, 1622.

My last was by Harman, two days after my coming to town. Since we have been at it, we are wholly entertained with uncertain reports of Spinola's rising from Bergen,[1] and great wagers were laid, both in court, city, and specially in the Exchange, *pro et contra;* which grew upon confidence the Spanish faction had of Spinola's forecast and resolution, confirmed by Sir Richard Weston and his followers, who, coming in the heat of the contention, cooled the most forward, in that they had heard nothing of it by the way; and withal related how assuredly all at Brussels, from the highest to the lowest, made full account to carry it. On the other side, there was no more certainty but that two straggling passengers, coming over in a pink, that stayed at Sandwich, said they were at Heidelberg and Flushing, when thanksgiving was made in the churches for the raising of the siege; and that there were not boats enough to be gotten for the people, that flocked in great numbers to go to Bergen, to see the works, and manner of the siege. The Spanish ambassador, to salve all this, gave out it was but a false alarm, upon removing

[1] Bergen-op-Zoom.

of Spinola's quarters only, by reason of some inconvenience he found in the ground. In this suspense we continued till the post of Antwerp came on Wednesday last, and cleared the doubt; which was very welcome news, and as well received here as came many a day, wherein those people may see our true hearts, and good affection towards them, that, howsoever we complain to have found hard usage at their hands, yet we rejoice exceedingly at their prosperity and welfare.

Yesternight their commissioners here made a great feast, and meant to have had fireworks in their court or garden, if the wet and tempestuous weather did not hinder it. Indeed, I have seldom or never known so great and furious winds as have been this summer, which have done great hurt both at sea and land, insomuch that divers ships were cast away in the haven of Plymouth, a thing never heard of before; and, on Sunday last, two or three boats were lost in the Thames, both above and beneath the bridge, in one of which ten persons were drowned, some Dutch and some English, who, having been at a marriage at Kingston, and packed thirteen in a wherry, the tempest rising towards eight o'clock at the night, were cast away 'twixt Westminster and the Strand. Only three were saved by strange accidents. We hear of a Dunkirker cast away the same night on the coast of Sussex, wherein were 130 men, whereof one only escaped, and came to land. The day I came to town, another Dunkirker, with 150 men, was sunk or blown up not far from Dover, by four Hollanders' men-of-war. I heard the fight divers times all along the way as I came; and the king, being then at New Hall, would not then, nor scant since, be persuaded but it was the battery at Bergen. The other Dunkirkers that were driven to Leith long since, not finding means to furnish themselves there, were supplied from hence by the Spanish ambassador, who, sending a ship laden with munition and all other provisions, we hear it was taken, as soon as it was out of the river, by the Hollanders, though the Spaniard will lose little by it, having assured it on the Exchange. It may be this provision he made gives occasion to speech and murmuring among our people that had a license to carry away a great

quantity of ordnance, and great store of butter and cheese, which would come ill to pass to the poorer sort, corn being already become extreme dear; rye at seven, and wheat at ten shillings a bushel; and it is said the king is much displeased with the business of the Palatinate; and, if he receive not shortly better satisfaction from Spain, will resent it in another manner than he had done, and begins to apprehend how much they abuse his patience and long suffering.

Endymion Porter was appointed to be gone towards Spain on Thursday; but, in the mean time, comes Mr. Cottington, who went to the court yesterday. But whether his coming will hinder or further the other journey, I know not, nor what he brings, one way or other. But it was much marvelled that, having already there an ordinary and extraordinary ambassador, besides an agent, there should be yet need of another messenger of his quality and nearness.

We have much speech here of a great fleet of Spaniards upon our coast, and of a greater to follow; but we take no great alarm at the matter, because it is given out they go for the Low Countries. I cannot believe they are so many nor so well appointed as is given out; for either we should have heard of them sooner, or we should startle more at their approach; for we keep still the same course.

The king removes this day from Hampton Court to Theobalds, without making touch here; so to Royston, where he means to continue till Hallowtide, when he comes back to Theobalds to prick the sheriffs, then to Newmarket; so that we shall not have him here till Christmas.

It is no marvel we have all so uncertain news from abroad, when we have so little certainty at home of things done within ten or twelve miles of us. As, on Wednesday, it was reported that Sir Robert Naunton was sent for to court, had kissed the king's hand, and was to be restored to his place. The next day, we hear, there was no such matter; but that the Lord of Doncaster or Carlisle had sent for him for conference about parting with the seals, which some say shall be delivered to Sir Edward Conway; some to Sir Clement Edmondes; and some, to Sir John Ogle.

Utrum horum mavis accipe; or neither, if you will, for aught I know, or can yet learn. As likewise the lord president was in speech to be lord chancellor, by virtue of some matrimonial contract for his eldest son. That the lord keeper, in compensation, was to have the reversion of the Bishopric of Winchester and deanery of the chapel, which, if it should fall out so, I could wish he might expect and tarry for many a fair day. Other changes and dislocations are talked of; and yet, thanks be to God, nothing out of joint; so that all is like to be but vain discourses of idle brains.

The next week, the Lord Marquis Hamilton, for the king, and the Lord Marquis Buckingham, for himself, are to go christen the Lord Compton's young son. Sir Dudley Digges is come out of Ireland, and his colleagues are to follow shortly after. Sir Francis Nethersole hath been here this sevennight, and Sir John Borlase arrived on Wednesday, very sick.

On Wednesday last, I received yours of the 26th of September, and acquainted the Lady Vere, who came the next day to town, with what you had written touching £500 to be paid by one Tybault, whereof she had heard nothing, but means to inquire and find him out, by Sir Peter Van Lere. She gives your lordship great thanks for having her in so kind remembrance, and will be ready upon all occasions to acknowledge the favour.

I am sorry to see poor Sir Peter Manwood brought to that pass; but his estate is so desperate, that it seems he could be content to miscarry; and so, in some case, *invitum qui servat, idem facit accidenti.* But your care is much to be commended, and charity must work, though it be not welcome.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 5, 1622.

On Wednesday last, in the forenoon, Mr. Preston[1] was chosen master of Emanuel College, it being the seventh

[1] John Preston, afterwards D.D., of Queen's College, Cambridge, and preacher at Lincoln's Inn.

day after the vacation, by resignation of the old Dr.[1] Yet so secretly did they carry their business, that not any in the town—no, nor any of the scholars of their own college, did so much as suspect any vacation or election till all was done and finished. Dr. Travers himself, whom some might suppose likely to hear of such a matter, heard not the least jot till all was past, notwithstanding all the acquaintance and relations he left behind him. Never did I believe, till now I see it experienced, that so many as twelve could keep counsel a week together, and fellows of a college, too. Who would have thought but there had been a Judas amongst twelve? But they jest at Emanuel, and tell us Judas was gone, and they had but eleven; for one fellowship lies void, in regard of some suit about the maintenance for it. The new master thus chosen was presently, in the afternoon, fetched home from Queen's by all the fellows, and accompanied thence by some of the fellows there, and most of the scholars, almost to Emanuel gates, where the seminary of Emanuel stood to entertain him.

You will perhaps, or some others will, wonder, how this business could be kept so close, since the vacation was to be published by a schedule, set up till the election. But this circumstance is requisite only if any of the fellows be absent, thereby to signify the vacation to them, to prevent which they made choice of a time when all their fellows were at home, to call them together, and make known the resignation to all present at once.

Mr. Thomas Locke to Sir Dudley Carleton.

October 12, 1622.

Yesterday, the news came hither, by an express, of the conclusion of the peace between the King of France and the Protestants, which was presently sent away to the king with these articles, which were delivered to Mr. Secretary by the gentleman that brought the packet.

The Lords do begin now to sit very frequently, and the prince with them. They have lately received letters from

[1] Lawrence Chaderton. He died in November, 1640, aged 105.

the new deputy[1] and council of Ireland, which do import a great jealousy conceived by that state of the ill-affected there, who do now show themselves with much more boldness, and speak more bravely than they should. They are put in hope of a toleration and alteration of religion by the priests, who do swarm everywhere. The Irish captains that were sent hither to levy soldiers for the King of Spain have lingered there till now, which the state doth not like very well of. They are now like to be sent away packing. Things work not very well there, but now there is hope of amendment. The soldier is unpaid three years, which the Lords have now promised to take order for; and of these things and other defects in this state; and these they have informed his majesty, and set down courses for reformation.

Yesterday, Murray, the post, came back from Manheim, and brought word that he could not deliver the king's letter to Sir Horatio Vere; and the news is come hither that it is little better than lost. This day, came news that Endymion Porter, who was lately sent to Spain, was very like to be drowned about Calais, and that he lieth sore bruised by seeking to save himself, in leaping out of his own ship, which was split, into another; his man drowned. And now it is thought that Mr. Gage, who was going to the pope, shall take Spain in his way, and carry those letters which Mr. Porter had.

This day, the Lords did send to the States, to entreat them at their next meeting to insist upon nothing but things reasonable, as they had charged our merchants, upon their displeasure, to do the like, that so they might quickly come to a conclusion.

Sir Clement Edmondes died this day of an apoplexy, whereof he was not sick above two days.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 12, 1622.

Our term is begun, and yet no great appearance, nor any of our friends come to town, but only Sir William

[1] Lord Falkland.

Borlase, who came of purpose to see his kinsman, Sir John, that lies yet very weak, but not without hope of recovery. He is much missed (if not too much). On Sunday, while I was there, the lord chamberlain came in, and he hath continual messages from the prince, the archbishop, and all the great ones.

The king is now at Royston, and the prince, with the council, consult daily at Whitehall. Some speak of a parliament toward; but *cui bono?* for I look for no great effect, unless some men's minds were better prepared than when they parted; neither can I hope for any great success of the prince's forwardness, (who, they say, is very earnest in the cause of the Palatinate, and very nobly offering himself to go in person) unless they take the right course, which, to my understanding, is not to demand passage for an army of so many thousand through Flanders and those parts, (as principal piece of Porter's errand is reported) but to strike at the root which gives life and nourishment to all the other boughs and branches. But Mr. Cottington relates how much they were troubled and grieved in Spain at the news of the besieging of Heidelberg, (for he was despatched before they heard of the loss) and gives the names of the commissioners now at last appointed to treat of the match, which are five—Don Baltaser de Faniaga; Count Gondomar; Rosteyney, the king's principal secretary; the king's confessor, a Dominican friar; and the Bishop of Segovia, president of the Council of Flanders, and confessor to the late Archduke Albertus.

The lord keeper is abridged in his authority of making justices of peace, and the nomination of them transferred to the council table; as, likewise, the lords lieutenant have no more the naming and appointing of their deputy lieutenants, but the king hath reserved that power in himself.

Before my coming to town, I heard of some unkindness and coarse language 'twixt the lord treasurer and lord keeper, with appeaching and accusing one another's courses; but they were reconciled by the king, and the matter salved. By these, and the like thwarting, it is guessed that the lord keeper hath no firm footing, specially now he wants his wonted stay, the Countess of Buckingham.

We have been fed all this week with a foolish report that the Prince of Orange had taken Hulst, in Flanders; whereas, for aught I can learn, he was not on that side of the water. We hear no more of the Spanish fleet upon our coast, nor what is become of it. Much discoursing we had what their design might be. Some think, upon this check Spinola had before Bergen, that they are gone back; but this is not likely, for many reasons; neither could they have notice of it so soon. I do rather think these violent winds have shaken and scattered them. Truly, if God do not, as it were, miraculously fight for us and the cause, I see little hope left, when all things, as well in France as elsewhere, do conspire and work together for the Spanish greatness. Yet here came news yesterday that there is peace in France, which God knows how long it will hold, and whether it will not undermine and ruin them more than the war; for they have the wolf by the ear. But God, in his good time, will amend all that is amiss.

Sir Clement Edmondes fell, two days since, into a dead palsy, and I heard yesternight he was speechless. If he recover not, Sir Edward Conway hath one competitor less to oppose, and will be the liker to carry it. He only went in coach this day sevennight with the two marquises,[1] to the christening of the Lord Compton's son; and the Lord of Buckingham says he is the best company that may be, either for jest or earnest.

Sir John Dormer is lately married to the Lady Croke, the judge's widow, and they live, or sojourn, at Ascot. As I was now finishing, I hear Sir Clement Edmondes is dead; and I think Mr. Dickinson is to succeed him, and wait in ordinary.

Mr. Gage is, upon his return to Rome, to amend somewhat in the dispensation. I marvel that we hear nothing of the Bishop of Spalato, nor what is become of him since he went hence.

[1] Hamilton and Buckingham.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 19, 1622.

Endymion Porter, the messenger into Spain, hath been sick, a mischance since he went, as will disenable him for his employment. Most say, that the manner of it was by reason that the ship he went in was gravelled near to Calais; and so, being in danger, to save himself, he leaped out of the ship into the boat, but, falling upon the side thereof, he broke one of his ribs; and his man leaping after him, fell much shorter, and so was drowned. Others say, that in the tempest, the ship wherein he was fell foul with another in company, in such sort, that it was in danger, being the smaller, to be lost: whereupon, when the ships were driven together, he, throwing himself with all his might into the greater, fell so that he broke his shoulder, besides other hurt; but his man following, catched only hold upon the ship's side, where he hung, till the ships falling together, he was crushed in pieces between them, and fell dead into the sea. The Roman augurs would have taken this for an ominous sign of the success of the business. Since this news came to court, Mr. Cottington is employed to Spain, who came but lately from thence.

To tell you how the prince, before his father came down, besought him upon his knees, and with tears, to take pity upon his poor and distressed sister, her husband, and children, and to suffer himself no longer to be abused with treaties, desiring him, that since himself was old, and unfit man for actions of war, that he would give him leave to raise a royal army, and to be the leader thereof himself, not doubting but to find the subjects ready: and that his majesty should answer, he would hear once more forth of Spain first, and then, if he had not satisfaction, he would give him and the State leave to do what they could. To tell you, I say, of these, and the such like, I shall not need, knowing that they use to fly about the country, and you may know the truth as soon as I; for I think the event must make it appear, before it will be credible. And yet it is affirmed the prince said so; but I know not whether [he mean] to do so.

It was talked also, that the king, the last week, on hunting, both the marquises being with him, and not above one or two of the huntsmen else anything near him, should suddenly, standing still and pausing awhile, tell them, that he was shamefully abused, and they were the causes thereof, as having made him believe that all would be well by treaty, till now his son had lost all his inheritance. "You, my lords," quoth he, "have much abused me." To which they replied nothing. This our Cambridge men brought from Royston on Sunday. I leave you to judge of the probability, especially seeing the one of them, Marquis Hamilton, is no way guilty in this kind, being known and taken by all to be of the contrary faction; unless you would think that the king included them both, that he might charge Buckingham directly. But these are all vulgar reports, and therefore suspicious either of falsehood or corruption.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 26, 1622.

We are still in the same terms, without resolution one way or other. The king continues at Royston, or rather now at Hinchingbroke, that was Sir Oliver Cromwell's, whence he comes back on Monday. Then to Theobalds, the 4th of next month, where he means to prick the sheriffs the next day, and so to Newmarket.

The States went to Royston this day sevennight, with intention to take their leave, as was thought; but there being no agreement 'twixt them and our East Indian merchants, the king hath undertaken to reconcile the most difficult point, touching the damages, if our men will rely on his justice, and not suspect his integrity; otherwise, he will not meddle with the business.

Monsieur Soubise hath taken a rich ship of Dunkirk, coming out of Spain, upon our coast, and brought her to Plymouth. But we hear of a post sent from court to let her go. I do not conceive upon what pretence, except some complaint of the Spanish ambassador's. But there is hope he is gone before the commandment came.

Much consultation there hath been about raising of

money, and many projects propounded: as to find out a hundred men who should lend, or part with so many thousand pounds; that the king should have the full revenue of letting and setting all wards' lands and livings during their nonage; that all officers whatsoever should contribute a whole year's profits of their place. But it was answered, that many of them having but as it were from hand to mouth, how should they maintain themselves and their families in the mean time? Then came a notion that the council and the nobility should give a good example, and part with a year's rent; but that was soon dashed; and so, *cum nomini obtrudi potest iter ad urbem*, the city came in question. But it was remembered how much behindhand they were already, since their last loan, and that they are extremely impoverished, as may appear by a list of 1500 houses that stand empty within the lord mayor's precincts, whereof 500 bankrupted. And it is a strange sight, and not known in this age, till within these two or three years, to see booksellers, stocking-men, haberdashers, point-makers, and other mean trades, crept into the Goldsmith's Row, that was wont to be the beauty and glory of Cheapside. But in conclusion, after all these devices, none was found to be so fit as the plain, ancient way of parliament; and so, I hear, it was certified. But the king is so distasted with their tedious manner of proceeding, that he will hardly be drawn into it, unless matters be so prepared that there be more quick despatch. And to that end, the general pardon must be drawn beforehand, so as may be both to his majesty's liking and theirs; for the last time they complained it was but a chip. Then the balancing and settling of trade, and weighty and intricate business, must be thought upon and established; as also the fees of officers reduced to what they were in *tricesimo*, and justices of peace to the number they were in *tricesimo quarto* of Queen Elizabeth. Besides, divers other things are spoken of to be prepared and made ready. And yet, perhaps, with all this noise, nothing will follow.

Here is a speech of a new dignity of vidams to be created, which should wedge in 'twixt knights and baronets; but it is like to raise no great wool.

The king hath lately made Hugh Middleton, a goldsmith, a baronet, for his good service in bringing the water to London, and finding out the silver mine in Wales.

The last week, Mr. Cottington was sworn the prince's secretary. Anthony Tracy, the Lady Vere's brother, is come from Florence; and we hear of three-score priests come out of Spain in a flock.

Mr. Gage is gone back to Rome, about the amending of somewhat in the dispensation; for whereas it was required that the infanta should have a chapel in court, to hear mass with her servants, and their familiars, this last word was thought of too large extent. I hear Mr. Matthew brought him to Dover on his way.

We have news, that Don Baltaser de Faniaga, the privy councillor, is dead in Spain, which perhaps may somewhat alter the course of that council.

I had almost forgot, that the new recorder presenting the new lord mayor, the next day after his election, as the manner is, to the lord keeper, amongst other his commendations, said he had been a courtier. His name is Proby,[1] and was some time barber to Secretary Walsingham. The lord keeper in his reply said, he was glad to see so good correspondence 'twixt the court and the city, that they had made choice of a courtier for their prime magistrate, and the court of a citizen for a principal officer.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, November 4, 1622.

Harman, the post, calls for a letter; and there is nothing to write, unless I should tell you of my lord mayor's pageants and shows, that had a fair day among so many foul, both before and after, that the ways are said to be impassable, and the waters so high, that it is doubted how the king will get well to Theobalds this day, whither the council go to him to-morrow morning, and such a deal of other business there to be done, as in so short a time, without extraordinary despatch, can hardly be digested.

[1] Sir Peter Proby.

The Lord Belfast hath been here now these eight or ten days, and his audience or relation deferred to the king's coming to Theobalds. They say he is nothing well edified with the proceedings of the Spaniards and Imperialists with whom he had to deal, but will plainly lay open how cunningly, to say no worse, they have carried the business, and with how little respect to his majesty's mediation, if it will do any good. In the mean time, the Spanish match goes on amain, in the treating whereof two principal articles were said to be—the restoring of the Palatinate on their part; and firm assurance to be given on ours, from henceforth not to assist the Low Countries with men, money, or any other means.

There is a great controversy fallen out 'twixt Sir Francis Vane[1] and the new Lord Montague,[2] his neighbour, about country causes, and for stiling him, under his hand, the "grand promoter," which the lord would bring within compass of *scandalam magnatum*, and follows it into the Star Chamber, where Sir Thomas Vane was to answer, as it were, *ore tenus*, on Wednesday next; but seeing himself so pressed, he hath found means that the king hath taken it into his own hands, and caused them both to appear before him at Royston as yesterday, where, how the matter hath passed, we cannot hear yet; but it is most likely the king hath agreed them, and made them friends.

The lord privy seal is in speech to be put to a good pension during his life, and relinquish his place to the lord chamberlain, who is to make room for the Lord of Denbigh or Fielding; but perhaps the matter is not so soon effected as spoken.

Dr. Searchfield,[3] Bishop of Bristol, is lately dead; but that place is so poor, that we have not yet heard of any suitors or pretendents for it.

Your brother Carleton is in town in some perplexity,

[1] Probably Sir Francis Fane, who was knight of the Bath, and created Baron Burghersh and Earl of Westmoreland in December, 1624. He died March 23, 1628.

[2] Edward Montagu, created Lord Montagu, of Boughton, in June, 1621.

[3] Dr. Rowland Searchfield, educated at St. John's College, in Oxford, and consecrated Bishop of Bristol May 9, 1619. He was succeeded in that see by Dr. Robert Wright.

for fear of being put into the bill of sheriffs, and plies all his friends that can any way help to keep him out.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 16, 1622.

I spake with a gentleman this week, whose place and condition in life might enable him to know something, who, with such arguments as he brought, hath in a manner persuaded me to believe these conclusions. 1st. That the match with Spain will never be, unless the times change, so that Spain shall do it for fear. 2nd. That there will never be a direct answer given from thence about the restitution of the Palatinate, but always such a one as may effect delay. 3rd. That the palatinate will never be restored. 4th. That though it be not, our king will never take arms in behalf thereof. Blot out this when you have read it, for we must not prognosticate of the counsels and events of State.

We talk here, that the Bishop of Bristol being dead, my Lady Leven's friends at court have moved the king to confer it upon the provost of King's College,[1] in recompense of his so much spoken of slighting and neglect of their letters and personal mediation in her behalf, for renewing the lease she begs of that college. And as for his provostship, they have moved and obtained of the king to confer it upon Sir Albert Morton,[2] not hitherto sufficiently rewarded for his services to the king and State. This was done, and licence procured for holding his livings; and a *commendam*, as soon as it should fall in his diocese, of £100 a-year, with his little bishopric, before the provost ever heard word of it, or had the least suspicion. Whereupon he is now so much amazed and troubled, that he vouchsafed to descend lower than himself, and to sue to Dr. Travers to be his mediator to our master,[3] and to Dr. Bainbridge, that he would write in his behalf to Sir George Goring, whom he supposed the chief in this

[1] Dr. Samuel Collins, elected in 1615. [2] Afterwards secretary of state.
[3] Dr. Valentine Carey, Bishop of Exeter.

business. Our master was entreated for him, and hath written; but what will be the event, or whether his coming off at length for the lease will make his peace, time will tell us ere long.[1]

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 29, 1622.

Upon Wednesday, at two of the clock, Sir John Bennet made a speech unto the lords, craving the king's mercy, and their lordships' favourable censure, for these reasons:—1st. Because that he had offended was out of ignorance, as thinking the extent of his office would have borne him out to do what he did, his predecessors having done the like before him; but now he saw he was deceived. 2nd. Because, having been a long time chancellor of York in the queen's time, he was never attached, nor so much as questioned till now. 3rd. For that his estate was not so great as was supposed. 4th. Because that whatsoever should be laid upon his estate, would not light upon him alone, but upon a wife, ten children, and twelve grandchildren, and forty others besides, depending upon him: where fainting, he ended. Nevertheless, upon Friday forenoon he received his censure, fined £20,000, restitution of whatever he had gotten wrongfully from any man, disenabled from ever bearing office any more, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, December 14, 1622-3.

Oxford University got £1500 by Sir John Bennett's business; for, being urged to give some account of his disposing of so much money taken in pious uses, he named given £1500 to the University of Oxford, which indeed was but lent him upon good bonds and security. But understanding his intent was to be their benefactor, by his new profession, they demanded to have [the bonds] in their hands.

[1] Mr. Mead, in a letter of December 6, 1622, hath this passage—"Dr. Collins hath escaped the bishopric."

I heard twice or thrice by some courtiers, that Sir Francis Nethersole, the Princess Palatine's secretary, came to court about some business for her; but had not, in three weeks' attendance, so much as got audience.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 21, 1622.

The king came to Theobalds on Monday last, and gave order that none of the lords of the council should trouble themselves to come thither, but attend him here this day. On Monday, divers lords and persons of quality have made means to be dispensed withal for going into the country this Christmas, according to the proclamation; but it will not be granted, for that they pack away on all sides, for fear of the worst. Yet the Lord Burghley hath found favour, in regard of his father's age and weakness; though some make another construction, that his daughter, Diana, might not be missing at the masque, and, thereupon, stick not to say, that "Great is the Diana of the Cecilians."

Now, to prevent that the court be not too thin and bare, by the absence of so much nobility and gentry, there is order given, that (besides the lords of the council, and others that attend about the king's and prince's persons) all the gentlemen of the privy chamber, and pensioners, shall wait and give attendance all the holidays.

Great complaining here is for nay of payments, and, indeed, there is a general dearth and scarcity of money; and yet, as hard as the world goes, I hear that the Lord of Carlisle hath a pension of £2000 for one-and-twenty years, in recompense of service. Some speech here is of some removes of great offices towards; but seeing it is but in discourse, and that reports vary every day, it is not worth the setting down.

The commissioners are all come home out of Ireland. In their passage they were cast upon the Isle of Man; where their tarrying ten days, and the arrival of some others that set out after them, gave occasion of speech for a good while that they were cast away. Sir Dudley Digges got the start of them, and was here two or three

months before, following the court hard, both at Royston and Newmarket, and was in hope somewhat would fall to his lot; but, for aught we see yet, the poor gentleman seems in the sand.

The Lord Lisle's and Sir John Hobart's ladies were brought a-bed this week, in a manner both together; and both have sons. But the Lady Naunton's time is not yet come.

There be some councillors appointed commissioners for reformation of the household; and a sub-commission of some meaner courtiers and officers.

The Spanish ambassador complains for want of justice in the Admiralty court; whereupon there is commission granted to some lords of the council to examine the depredations of our East Indian Company in the Indies, and especially about the business of Ormuz. The French ambassador likewise requires the same course for all controversies with their nation.

We hear that Count Gondomar is to return shortly, because it seems no man knows so well the length of our foot.

Mr. Cottington is continually about the king, and in great request, as having been so long conversant and well seen in Spanish affairs, and knows the bias of that court to a hair.

Young Mr. Hopton[1] is in the way to marry Sir Justinian Leven's widow, Sir Arthur Capell's daughter,[2] a gentlewoman well esteemed, but somewhat *attempata*, as being above thirty years old, and never had but one child, her daughter; which is such a hazard for a man of his parts and fortunes, that (besides all other respects) he being the only male heir of his house, it is not so convenient a match in my judgment, and I should not have made such a choice.

Little Owen,[3] the maker of epigrams, died not long since

[1] Known, in the following reign, as Sir Ralph Hopton, and created Baron Hopton, of Stratton. He was subsequently general of the ordnance, and died at Bruges, in 1652.

[2] Elizabeth.

[3] John Owen, LL.B., educated at Winchester School, and New College, Oxford, of which he was a fellow, and master of the school at Warwick. He became celebrated for writing Latin epigrams.

of a cold, and was buried in Paul's; whereupon divers poets, his countrymen, have made epitaphs in his commendation, and, among the rest, the lord keeper, whose verses I send you here enclosed; and, to bear them company, an answer of Sir Edward Herbert's[1] to some verses that were made in praise of the Pucelle of Orleans.

Upon inquiry, I am fully of your opinion touching Sir Edward Cecil's speech, that he was not guilty of it; but that one Turner, about him, was the true father.

I know not what to make of the *diffida*, or challenge, you sent me in your last; but, at first sight, I should think that Nicola Nani were scant in his wits, to imagine that men of their quality would come four or five hundred miles to answer his challenge, upon pain of his *infamia*. Or, if they did, I should take off the fool's cap from him, and set it on their heads.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 3, 1622-3.

I heard this evening from divers, and some from court, that Endymion Porter returned hither last night, at five o'clock, from Spain, with confirmation of the contract done *in verbis de presenti;* and that Count Gondemar goes into Germany to receive the Palatinate (but knows not whether both of them be meant), and to redeliver it to our sovereign, who is to reside here. And that hereupon it is here to-day ordered that ten ships should be made ready to fetch the lady hither in the spring.

On Monday last, our East Indians and the Dutch were fully accorded, under their hands and seals; and yet, as is said, the writings rent asunder by us, and so all is off again. The Portuguese complain here of £1,700,000 damage done them by us in the East Indies. There is a commission to examine the business, and two masters, late come, are in hold.

Yesterday, was the city's new church,[2] in the Duke's Place, consecrated. The lord archbishop, and Bishop of

[1] Better known as Lord Herbert, of Cherbury.

[2] St. James's.

London, with the lord mayor, alderman, &c., being present, and Dr. Whiting[1] preaching.

All this week the matter of the match seems not to be so clear, but that there is some demur yet in it; for the rectifying whereof, as is supposed, Mr., or Sir Simon Digby, hath this week, two or three days ago, gone for Spain.

It is here said, the two last proclamations have caused the remove from about this city, and Westminster, of 7000 families, and with them 1400 coaches: yet are things here nothing cheaper, but the dearer; provisions not coming up as was wont. All tradesmen complain much, as do the poor, of their departure. Some[2] already do return, if not too soon.

Here is bruited, as if some hundreds of poor people were assembled, in Essex, in a wood together, whither they fetch men's cattle, and kill them for victual, and labour in cutting down of a wood to barricade themselves in.

It is said, one Mr. Coppinger (a familiar of the Earl of Somerset), who sent away his lawful wife, of good name, and married one of no good report, falling out with the earl, hath let fall some speeches about Prince Henry's death, and is for the same imprisoned.[3]

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 14, 1622-3.

This town has afforded no news, almost since the last we had. One writes from London that Endymion Porter brought the match in his mouth, but that it was not liked. Another talks (from what information I know not), that the match should be concluded: the dowry, £800,000; £200,000 whereof to be paid to the emperor for restitution of the Palatinate (if he can be drawn to it), and other £200,000 to the Duke of Bavaria for his charges.

[1] Probably John Whiting, D.D., of Cambridge, who was admitted of St. Martin's Vintrey, in London, May 7, 1611; and collated to the church of East Ham, in Essex, September 28 following; and was prebendary of St. Paul's in January, 1615.

[2] Some of those who are departed, viz., Papists.—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

[3] These references to the death of Prince Henry, and the hurried and arbitrary manner in which they were silenced, confirm the suspicions that the prince's mysterious end excited.

No news here of the king's sickness; but that the enmity between the lord treasurer and the lord keeper still grows stronger. That my lord treasurer hath sent Mr. Brett into France, to put the marquis out of jealousy.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 18, 1622-3.

We have not anything from the Low Countries, but that General Vere was discharging his men, and putting them into General Cecil's regiment, by order from hence; yet Captain Knollys and Captain Thorner, being put to sea with their companies, before the order was come, are since arrived at Gravesend, yet not permitted to land, but to return to serve the States when the wind shall serve.

Coppinger is still in custody; but some think his accusation may rather prove matter of malice, than anything to be substantially manifested.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 18, 1622-3.

There is much talk of libels and dangerous books: and that one, this Christmas time, nailed up a libel upon the pulpit in the king's chapel, in sight of all; which boldness made them think he was sent by authority, and he went his way, and escaped. Another conveyed into the marquis's bedchamber a villanous book. There is also said to be discovered, in the Spanish ambassador's house, a book, intended to be dispersed, called, "The King and the Prelate," as an opposite to God and the king, for it maintains, dialogue-wise, the deposing of kings by the prelacy.

There is also a great paper of verses, in way of answer to these libels and State meddlers, vulgarly said to be the king's: but a gentleman told me that he will not own it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 25, 1622-3.

It is somewhat long since I wrote, and longer since I heard from you till yesterday, that I received yours of the 11th of this present. The cause of my silence was the often deferring of the masque, and the king's removing, caused by his indisposition. For there was nothing to write of but dancing and feasting, which was more frequent this Christmas, than ever I knew or remember, and continues ever since even till now. But the departure of the French ambassador's lady, with her niece, Mademoiselle St. Luc, who bore a principal part in all those meetings, was the cause that the masque[1] could not well be put off longer than Sunday last. The French and Venetian ambassadors were present, and they say it was performed reasonably well, both for the device, and the handsome conveyance and variety of the scenes, whereof Inigo Jones hath the whole commendation. Ben Jonson, they say, is like to hear of it on both sides of the head, for personating George Withers, a poet, or poetaster he terms him, as hunting after some, by being a *chronomastix*, or whipper of the time, which is become so tender an argument, that it must not be admitted either in jest or earnest; for old Dr. White, our prebend of Paul's, is commanded to keep his house, for that preaching there on Twelfth-day night, he prayed God to preserve the king and prince from any that should go about to withdraw them from their first love and zeal to religion: which is interpreted as a kind of libel, as if there were some danger of such a matter.

And now touching [libels], the report goes there be many abroad; and it should seem the king's verses, I herewith send you, were made in answer to one of them. But for the point of religion, the prince gave good testimony of late, by putting away divers of his musicians, for assisting, and helping to sing mass, at the Spanish ambassador's, on Christmas-day; though some say, how truly I know not, that they were received again, at the ambassador's request.

But this long digression must not make us lose our

[1] By Ben Jonson, called, "Time vindicated to himself, and his honours."

feasting, which began at Sir Humphrey Hawford's, one of our sheriffs, whither came sixteen coaches of courtiers, most ladies, and had great entertainment; and during the supper, the prince, with the lord marquis, the duchess,[1] and lady marchioness,[2] came unlooked for; and ever since they have, as it were, gone in a round from one good place to another, somewhat like fiddlers, (as your nephew Carleton told Sir Henry Rich) all in one company.

Ever since the king's coming to town, the captain of the guard[3] hath been in speech, to be made Viscount Kensington.

On Thursday was sevennight, the lord marquis fell so sick at the Lord of Carlisle's, at supper, that he and his lady were fain to lie there all night. On Friday, the duchess, lady marchioness, Lady Denbigh, French ambassadress, with her niece, St. Luc, the Lady Burghley, and her daughter Diana, supped with the king in his chamber, where the Marquis Hamilton was server, the Lord of Carlisle, carver, and the Lord of Montgomery, cup-bearer. The Lord Marquis Buckingham sat by himself; and the prince supped privately in his chamber; but the next night he had there all, with the rest of that society; and on Wednesday, they were all feasted by the French ambassador.

Sheriff Hawford hath been very magnifical, and feasted all the king's servants, and within two days after, all the gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn, who, at the breaking up of their revels, made such a peal of ordnance, or chambers, at midnight, as gave a great alarm at court, and put them in fear as if there had been some uproar in the city.

The king was to remove on Monday to Theobalds, there to tarry twelve days, and thence to Newmarket till towards Easter. The speech that the smallpox be very rife there will not hinder his journey. The Lady Cave, daughter of Sir Herbert Crofts, died in childbed of them about a fortnight since, and was buried by night in Paul's, accompanied by sixty-five coaches, and great store of other company. The corpse was drawn in a coach, covered with black velvet, as likewise the horses, with black feathers.

[1] Of Lennox. [2] Of Buckingham. [3] Sir Henry Rich.

Here is much talk of Coppinger, that served the Lord of Somerset, and now accuses him as contriver of Prince Henry's death. He was committed to the custody of a messenger, and so continues, no great hold being taken of what he says, because he is thought to be cracked in his wit, as well as in his estate, which is utterly ruined and desperate.

The seals were taken from Sir Robert Naunton the 16th of this present; but upon what conditions he parted with them, is uncertainly reported: some say money — some say land: but most, upon promise of a better place.

On Sunday, Sir Edward Conway was sworn secretary. The king recommended him to the Lords, for his birth, for his soldiery, for his languages, for his sufficiency, and for his honesty: others add, for his courtship and courtesy, in seeking to fasten the title of excellency on the lord marquis, which I hear not how it holds. Sir John Ogle is in speech to be made a councillor; and then Sir William Herbert says, we are like to have a strong council, when it shall be so well fortified with men of war.

The late reconcilements are not so well grounded but that seeds of dissension do daily cast themselves about.

I hear the States went yesterday to take their leave at court, and have made a kind of end. It should seem the Spanish match goes not so mainly as was given out at Mr. Porter's coming home; for Simon Digby was despatched thither since Christmas; and, it is said, Mr. Cottington shall follow shortly; which continual messages hence argue that all is not as we would have it. But this enclosed letter, from one about the Lord Digby, (if you have not seen it already) will show what cause we had to be confident, and to think all sure.

Presently after the holidays, our gentlemen, that are, as it were, banished from hence by the proclamation, came up again thick and threefold, and do grumble that they should be confined to their houses; for after most of them were gone, even upon Christmas-eve, came forth another proclamation, for their wives, and families, and widows, to be gone likewise; and that henceforward, gentlemen should remain here during terms only, or other business, without bringing their wives and families; which is *durus sermo* to

the women, and will hardly be digested. And it falls out by experience that the commandment did little good, but rather hurt; for being driven to make their provision in haste, the markets rose so in all places that they came to, that the poor, instead of relief, found their burden heavier.

I hear, since dinner, that the Lord General Vere is arrived at Gravesend. I doubt our king here will give him small countenance at first coming: but, either my intelligence fails, or that will not continue long.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, January 25, 1622-3.

For news, I daily hear and could tell you strange things, besides what is enclosed, if I could warrant the truth when I had done. I will only mention two or three nearer home; viz., that a gentleman told me the last week that my Lady Herrick, whose husband is keeper of the king's jewels, told him his majesty had newly received three letters, and all in one hour; whereof, one from the Signiory of Venice; another from Denmark, advising him with much vehemency to provide himself, and to stand upon his guard this summer; for, without doubt, the huge Spanish preparations would fall principally upon him, if he were found unprovided. Is not this a strange thing, either to be, or to be written to be? But his majesty swore an oath, that these men wrote all out of malice. I can neither believe, nor not believe, but mentioned it this week (which I did not last), because the enclosed hath, that Denmark hath written to other States to that purpose. We have, these three years or more, been troubled thus with rumours of the Spaniard; and yet nothing answered report.

The lieutenant of Middle Temple played a game this Christmas time, whereat his majesty was highly displeased. He made choice of some thirty of the civilest and best fashioned gentlemen of the House to sup with him; and, being at supper, took a cup of wine in one hand, and held his sword drawn in the other, and so began a health to the distressed Lady Elizabeth; and, having drunk, kissed his sword, and, laying his hand upon it, took an oath to live

and die in her service; then delivered the cup and sword to the next; and so the health and ceremony went round.

The gentlemen of Gray's Inn, to make an end of Christmas on Twelfth night, in the dead time of the night, shot off all the chambers[1] they had borrowed from the Tower, being as many as filled four carts. The king, awakened with this noise, started out of his bed, and cried, "Treason! Treason!" and that the city was in an uproar; in such sort, as it is said, that the whole court was raised, and almost in arms; the Earl of Arundel running to the bed-chamber with his sword drawn, as to rescue the king's person.

These are such things as I heard from Londoners, so I leave them.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 31, 1622-3.

The Dutch and we are now fully agreed, though with much ado; and which I think would hardly ever have been, but for his majesty's interposition. Our men are to have but £80,000, and some two or three £1000 over; whereas, they stood upon £1,100,000, damages sustained. On Saturday, they took leave of his majesty, being sent for to court, with thirteen coaches, whereof the king's and prince's were two. Yesterday they were feasted by our East India merchants, in Merchant Tailors' Hall.

On Saturday arrived here the Lord General Vere,[2] who was next day twice with his majesty, brought in by the Lord Marquis Buckingham, graciously received, kissed his majesty's hands, who is said to have acknowledged his good services, yet had two or three questions to be satisfied in, which the general doubted not but fully to do.

On Monday forenoon, I first sought out Mr. French, the general's preacher, afterwards Dr. Wells, his physician; after dinner, went and saluted the general himself, and learned from them all, that the day and night before the yielding up of Manheim Castle, they had sustained two fierce assaults. That the enemy had received 3000 fresh

[1] Small cannon. [2] Sir Horatio, afterwards Baron Vere, of Tilbury.

men. That themselves had not sufficient powder left to serve two assaults more; which, at their departure thence, they carried all away with them, and more also of the enemy's, to make up the proportion which was agreed upon for them to have; wanted water: had not men enough to defend it on the walls (the citadel being full treble as big as the Tower of London), each man standing single, and a pike's length asunder, and no hope of any succours; and that, had they not yielded when they did, they must have been, within three days after, taken by assault, and had all their throats cut.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 7, 1622-3.

Yesterday, the lord president's son married Mrs. Hill, in his majesty's bedchamber[1]. His lordship, as is said, hath, thereupon, his table of sixteen dishes allowed in the court. This day sennight forenoon, were four tides and four ebbs, above the bridge, and six below: never before above two.

There is a pamphlet lately come over from Holland, it is said, called the *Belgic Pismire*, exhorting all, great and small, after the example of those Low Countrymen, to labour, providence, and prevention. Wherein the author is reported, with due and exceeding commendation of his majesty, to represent the chief points of government in these countries, &c. Yet a blue coat, and supposed to be from the same hand that *Vox Populi* came.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 11, 1622-3.

The king went last week to Theobalds for two or three days, and returning hither for no longer time, is stayed by reason of indisposition, and makes account to be gone next week, if his legs will give him leave. On Candlemas-day, there was great expectation of translating some principal

[1] See p. 362.

officers; but the event not succeeding, shows that they be better grounded than to be so easily removed.

On Thursday, in the afternoon, was a marriage at court, 'twixt the Lord Mandeville's eldest son and Susan Hill,[1] a kinswoman of the lord marquis. They were married by the lord keeper, in the king's bedchamber, who took great joy in it, and blessed the bride, with one of his shoes. The principal motive of this match, besides fair words and promises, was the paying back of £10,000, or security for it, of that sum the lord president[2] lent, when he was made lord treasurer; and some say the lord marquis ties his own land for £5000 more; and, withal, he is to have a table of ten dishes and *bouches* in court, as they call it, which began the day of the marriage, till some better place fall to his lot. Indeed, he had need of some amends, having forsaken a match of £25,000 certain, with the Lady Craven's daughter, that was designed and reserved for him. So, as if his hopes should fall short, the Lord of St. Albans saying would be verified, that, as the king had made a strange example of him, so he had made a strange precedent of the Lord Mandeville.

That lord[3] busies himself altogether about books. He hath set out two lately, *Historia Ventorum*, and *De Vitâ et Morte*, with promise of more. I have seen neither of them, because I have not leisure; but if the *Life of Henry the Seventh*, which they say he is about, might come out after his own manner, I should find time and means enough to read it.

The order is renewed for preparing ten ships of the king's to fetch the Infanta, as the voice goes. Yet, with this caution, that the matter should be so husbanded, that if the king should change his mind, there might be as little loss as were possible.

The last week here were strange tides; for, in a very calm time, it ebbed and flowed thrice in twelve hours. But the greatest wonder was, that it continued so two or three days, which I have not known or heard of before. It breeds much talk among the vulgar; and even

[1] Daughter of John Hill, Esq., of Honiton, in Warwickshire.
[2] Mandeville. [3] Bacon.

at court, it is said, that some that were never noted to be superstitious, are somewhat appalled at it.

Your States went hence this day sevennight. I hope they had a good passage; yet we hear, since they went, that three Dunkirkers attended them at the Land's End. If they had been so disposed, they might have concluded the business as well in two months, as in all this time, with so much trouble and charge. The king gave them very good words at parting, and they were feasted by the East Indian Company, at Merchant Tailors' Hall, two days before their going away, where were divers of the council, and most of the lords and gallants about this town. But it was so ill handled, that the feast was very confused and disorderly.

I hear that Monsieur Aerssem's son is made a gentleman of the privy chamber, and stays behind, as the voice goes, to woo Mrs. Smith, the Lady of Exeter's daughter,[1] on whom he is much enamoured. That lord[2] is now at the last cast. Some say he hath a gangrene in his foot, or some other disease that will not let him last long.

About the end of January, Mademoiselle St. Luc went away with her aunt, with a great deal of grace and favour, and great regret, as it seemed, on all sides; for many compliments and tears were shed at parting. The king gave her a chain of diamonds (but nothing to the ambassadors, for fear of bringing up an ill custom), and offered her, if she would stay and make choice of a husband here, either the Lord Percy, the Lord Mountjoy, or any other, to advance him and make him an earl, &c. But, they say, she is bespoken at home, and goes over for that purpose. The prince gave her a fair jewel; so did the duchess, with her picture. The lord marquis, with his lady, and the Lord of Carlisle and his lady, did likewise present her with rich jewels, besides others; and divers prime courtiers brought her a dozen miles on her way.

Sir Horace Vere came hither this day fortnight, kissed the king's hand, and had otherwise *bon accueil*, both of the prince,

[1] Anne, by her first husband, Sir Thomas Smith, master of the Requests and Latin secretary to James. He died November 28, 1609.

[2] The Earl of Exeter.

lord marquis, and all the court. There is a speech that he shall be sworn of the council; but I presume he doth not pretend it, for it would be to his loss.

Sir Isaac Wake hath got almost £2000 that was in arrearage, and hath leave to come home for a month or twain, to settle his affairs and marry his Mistress Bray.

When I was closing up this letter, on Saturday, I had notice from Ensign Carleton, your kinsman, that he looked to be despatched within a day or two; and, meeting him yesterday, he told me he was to be gone this morning, and withal, that your nephew Dudley was arrived, which comes well to pass, for his father is in town, unless he be gone this morning, as he once purposed.

On Thursday night, we had news from Middleburgh and Flushing of the strange conspiracy[1] at the Hague, and on Saturday, our merchants had it from Delft. I cannot easily believe it is so foul as it was painted at first sight; but I presume your nephew brings the full relation.

The Earl of Exeter died on Saturday morning;[2] but I have not yet heard what order he hath left in his affairs. They say Sir Thomas Panton is likewise dead or dying.

We hear of an ambassador coming from the emperor, and one from the archduke's, which the post of Antwerp would persuade us should be the Marquis Spinola; but I am hard of belief on that point. But Monsieur Vitry's brother, or brother-in-law, is expected, before any of these, out of France. The coming of these ambassadors stays the king's journey to Newmarket; so that he is minded to go no further than Theobalds.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 14, 1622-3.

I send you enclosed, as they term them in London, the king's verses; the first in answer, as it seems, to some libel; the latter, "Good Counsel to Gentlemen to leave the City." This latter, some say, the king hath disclaimed

[1] The sons of Barneveldt plotted to revenge the death of their father upon Maurice Prince of Orange.

[2] February 7.

expressly; but what he saith to the other, I know not. But, if it be not his, it is worse than a libel, and not to be read. But till that appears, I suppose, there is no danger.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 22, 1622-3.

Here was little to write the last week, more than the bestowing the Earl of Exeter's collar and garter on the Marquis Hamilton, the next day after his decease; and that Sir Francis Cottington, newly married to Sir Robert Brett's young widow, of good estate, daughter to one Meredith, sometimes paymaster of the forces in the Low Countries, was knighted and made a baronet. Young Monson, who stood once to be a favourite, was knighted likewise by the Lord of Buckingham's means, and sent to travel. The same order is taken for Brett, of the bed-chamber; but, for aught I can hear, neither of them is gone yet. Signor Biondi hath also gotten a knighthood on his back, having lately married Mayerne's sister, a very lump or great piece of flesh.

Boschet, the ambassador from the archduchess, arrived here on Wednesday, and lodgeth with the Spanish ambassador, refusing to be defrayed, as was intended; and that he should have had his audience at Cambridge, where the king meant to have been this Shrovetide, to see certain plays, about which there hath been much ado 'twixt the masters and seniors of Trinity College on the one side, and the younger fellows on the other, who would have them by all means; so that, the matter being referred to the vice-chancellor, he, loth to displease either party, sent it to the lord keeper, who, acquainting the king with it, certain of both parties were sent for, about Christmas, to show their reasons, which, being not admitted on the seniors' side, but willed to bring better or more pregnant, the ancientest of them said, that these times required rather prayers and fasting than plays and feasting; which was ill taken, and order given for the plays to go on. But, as matters are fallen out, I think he has altered his intention, and will not be there. For on Monday, the

prince with the Lord of Buckingham, going from Theobalds, and giving out they were going to New Hall, turned down toward the Thames, and coming to Tilbury, ferried over to Gravesend, so to Rochester, Canterbury, and Dover, where, taking ship, on Wednesday morning, it is thought they had a fair passage to Dieppe, and so mean to post into Spain.[1] Endymion Porter, James Levington, of the prince's bedchamber, one Kirke, a Scottishman, and Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the Lord of Buckingham, were at Dover before them, to prepare the passage. Only Sir Francis Cottington, as master, accompanied the prince and marquis. But their fair riding-coats gave suspicion they were no such manner of men. Whereupon, one was sent to Rochester to have them stayed, but being passed, another was despatched, who overtook them not far from Sittingbourne, by reason one of their horses failed; so that they were stayed at Canterbury; for that Sir Lewis Lewkener, attending the ambassador, and taking them for suspicious persons, had sent notice to the mayor. How they untwined themselves there, I know not; but at Dover they were stayed again till they had given some secret satisfaction. The news came not abroad, nor the council knew it not till Wednesday, and then was it in every man's mouth; but few believed it at first, because they could not apprehend the reason for so strange a resolution, as being a mystery of state beyond common capacities.

I hear the king sent to the council two days since, that the cause why he imparted it not to them was for that secrecy was the life of business; that it was the prince's own desire; that the marquis had no hand in it, only by his commandment; that, by this means, he should soon try whether they meant fair dealing; that he would have them consult what equipage or attendance should follow, and to provide to stay the amazement of the people; which, it is thought, shall be done shortly by some proclamation, showing the motive, or imposing silence. In-

[1] This stolen journey of the prince and Buckingham into Spain, intended to be so secret, was known almost immediately they had departed Sir Henry Wotton says that they disguised themselves, and took the names of Thomas and John Smith; nevertheless, they met with many singular adventures before they embarked.—*Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.*

deed, the world talks somewhat freely, as if it were done that they may be married at a mass, which could not be so handsomely done here, or to prevent the difficulties of the Pope's dispensation, seeing it is ordinary with them that *quod fieri non debet factum valet.* Others assign other causes; but all concur that it is a very costly and hazardous experiment, and without example, except perhaps that of James the Fifth into France and his majesty into Denmark; wherein, notwithstanding, the cases were much different. But all we can say is to pray that God will turn all for the best; for certainly there be dangers enough every way; and I can hardly perceive how they can pass through France undiscovered, though the ports be shut up here for a time. And I have heard the French ambassador sent away a post on Monday, by Plymouth; which, if he find passage, will prevent them for many a mile. But, no doubt, he sent other ways likewise, having got notice of it by some means or other.

The Earl of Carlisle is to go this day toward France, to comply with that king, and to excuse the necessity of keeping the journey secret; and according to his answer, some say, he is to follow to Madrid, whither they had made over and carried letters of exchange for £25,000.

To-morrow, the lords of the council come to Paul's Cross, and dine with the lord mayor, and there sit in council. It may be the preacher hath order to say somewhat of this business. I make no question but you will have a better relation of these matters, from many hands, than I can send you; but I set down only what I hear, without addition, leaving all manner of disputes touching the consequences, which are endless. I doubt not but it will be strange news, as well with you as everywhere else, and will breed much descant. But *jacta est alea*, and there is no more left but to make the best of it.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 22, 1622-3.

I know you have heard of a commission ..... and censure of bribery in officers. My Lord ..... of Win-

chester,[1] St. David's,[2] my Lord Arundel, ... Buckingham, are chief. Who the rest .....

We expect to know the ground of the ..... prince's going over sea; whereof hath been ..... at London on Tuesday or Wednesday, though with .....[3] others nothing near to be believed, as being never probable. I will tell you a pretty Cambridge accident, as I am informed. On Ash Wednesday there is a comedy at Trinity College: whereupon, the Spanish ambassador and the ambassador of Brussels being at court, his majesty sent word that they meant to come both to see the comedy. The name of the comedy is "Ignatius Loyola," and, as I guess, the argument according. Hereupon, the seniors of Trinity have been much puzzled, and have moved the doctors to write to his majesty how the case stands; and that either the ambassadors must not come, or the comedy must not be acted.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 28, 1622-3.

Our prince's highness landed at Boulogne on Wednesday was sennight, even the same day he embarked at Dover; and on Friday evening came well to Paris, though the lord marquis, being ill at ease, came not thither till Saturday, which lost them a day. Then, having seen the king and queen dine (as some say) on Sunday, rode thence on his journey undiscovered. We are commanded, as from his majesty, neither in our sermons nor prayers to prejudicate his journey, but yet to pray to God to preserve him in his journey, and grant him a safe return unto you. Yet not in more, nor in any other words.

Yesterday sennight, Mr. Richard Lumley posted after him. On Saturday, at seven in the morning, the Earl of Carlisle, the Lord Mountjoy, and others, went hence for France, to excuse the prince's passing through without leave, or kissing the king's hand there.

His highness left, or sent afterwards to his chamberlain,

[1] Dr. Andrews. [2] Dr. Laud.
[3] These dotted blanks were left so by the caution of the writer.

the Lord Carey, a list of eighteen persons that should follow in the fleet. But two of them, viz., the Lord Viscount Andover, master of his horse, and Sir Robert Carr, of his bedchamber, are said to go hence to-day overland. The fleet will hardly be ready yet these six or eight weeks. It seems the lords think fit to send more. There are in nomination two: the Earls of Arundel and Rutland, one of which is to go admiral.

The proclamation is now published inhibiting all speeches of grievances; but that, upon any open, just cause, persons may freely repair to the lords commissioners at Whitehall, where two or more of them shall sit, at least once a week, to receive complaints, and relieve the wrong, but severely punish causeless clamours.

Yesterday came good news from Virginia, that the colony well subsists again; hath driven Opochanknogh far off, slain many of his men, in revenge of his last year's treacherous murdering of three hundred and forty of ours, and have got much corn from them.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 1, 1622-3.

When I wrote my last, I was not then fully persuaded of the prince's going to Spain, though the report were frequent, from London. But, within an hour after, I believed it; but it was too late to open my letter again, being sealed and sent. The news enclosed would fain hope that he is gone some whither else than to Spain; but they have, that hope so, no ground but desire. The persuasion of most is otherwise.

It was something strange, that, when the prince desired to go so concealedly, it should be publicly revealed and talked, even by the court, before, almost, he was out of the land. Sure I am that at London it came to town on Tuesday night, and was general all Wednesday, the morning of which day he took ship. It may be, they will say, that by occasion of Sir Richard Mainwaring (lieutenant of Dover) stopping them until they showed the king's warrant (though the prince had intimated before who he was),

the report of their going was spread. But how could it come from Dover to London so soon? or how could they discover they were for Spain?

I shall not need tell you how we entertained the ambassadors of Spain and Brussels; how the vice-chancellor, doctors, regents, and non-regents, met them at Trinity Gate; how most of the college was taken up for them; how they had a speech at every college they came to see; how our orators fathered the old legend of Cantaber; how happy we were not only to see them here, but should be to have the Spanish blood come hither; how, when they walked privately to King's Chapel in the middle of prayers-time, they presently broke off prayers in the middle to entertain them. Every body thinks not this handsome. How our doctors pledged healths to the infanta and the archduchess; and, if any left too big a snuff,[1] Columbo would cry, "*Supernaculum! supernaculum!*" How Columbo, the Spanish ambassador, Ferdinand, the Brussels', and a lord, agent for the archduchess in ordinary, the King of Spain's private secretary, and Sir Lewis Leuknor, these five took the degree of Master of Arts in our Regent House. How they made sure for one Ogden, a priest in their company, and once of St. John's College, and born in this town, for a like favour, and were denied, as a thing not in our power, unless he would take the oath, which he would not; and how the said Ogden outfaced us all in our own dunghill, and threatened us all openly that the king should know of it, and such like. Fame will tell you of these things: I will not trouble you.

Viscount Andover to Sir Edward Conway.

March 3, 1622-3.

I must needs acknowledge myself much bound unto you for your kind remembrance of me, in procuring my speedy despatch to follow after the prince. I beseech you, likewise, to give me leave, by you, to present my humble service to his majesty, with all dutiful thanks, that it pleased him to honour me with his commandments where

[1] Now commonly called "heeltaps."

I go; of which, as of all things he shall please to give me in charge, I shall ever have a most dutiful care.

I find by the man that carried my Lord of Carlisle to Boulogne, that my lord landed in the forenoon on Monday was a sennight, and that the French post went away the same afternoon at one of the clock, so that I guess the prince will have no time to spare in his passing of France, if, at least, the French king have any purpose to stay him; for, since the prince went but the Sunday before from Paris, I doubt the posts, that go day and night, will go near to overtake him, especially if they should make the least stay in the world. But, sir, in writing you this, I would avoid doing an ill office to anybody, for, since the post passed in my Lord Carlisle's company, I know not what construction it may be subject to. Therefore, I leave to your wisdom to manage, but this is certainly true; for the man that carried my Lord Carlisle is, by God's grace, to pass me over this night, and I examined him particularly of every circumstance. The Spanish and Venetian post passed at the same time.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 8, 1622-3.

We have little certainty of the prince's journey since his going hence, but only that they landed at Boulogne the Wednesday, and rode three posts that same night. On Friday they came to Paris, very weary; and, resting there all Saturday, went away early on Sunday morning. Some give out, that during their abode there they saw the king at supper, and the queen practising a ball with divers other ladies, which, though it be somewhat confidently affirmed, yet I think it not probable, by reason it was their first Saturday in Lent.[1] We have had since many rumours that they were stayed; but now they talk of a post should come yesternight with news that they are past

[1] "We saw the young queen, little Monsieur and Madame, at the practising of a masque, that is intended by the queen to be presented to the king and Madame, with as many as made up nineteen fair dancing ladies; amongst which the queen is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a great desire to see her sister."—*Letter of Prince Charles to King James.*

Bayonne, and that my Lord Digby and Gondemar, with I know not how many litters and coaches, were ready at the frontiers to receive them, which sounds as unlikely as most of the rest. Sir Edward Herbert, our ambassador, knew nothing of their being at Paris till the Lord of Carlisle's coming. All in a manner agree that either the French king had notice of it before their arrival, or time enough to detain them, if he had been so disposed. Divers of their servants and followers are gone after them by land, and more preparing to go by sea. The prince left a list behind whom he would have sent after, which the king hath augmented to the number of twenty, besides footmen and pages, adding likewise Dr. Craig, a physician, and two chaplains, Drs. Man[1] and Wren,[2] that were forgotten. Thomas Carey, the Lord Leppington's younger son, was the first that went after them by land; and about this day sevennight, the Viscount Andover and Sir Robert Kerr followed; as likewise yesterday, Viscount Rochford, and others daily.

The Sunday after their departure, all the council about this town came to Paul's Cross, where it was expected somewhat would have been said, but the preacher had his lesson, *in hoc verbo*, only to pray for the prince's prosperous journey and safe return; and the next day, the bishop,[3] convening all his clergy, gave them the same charge. But some had anticipated the commandment, and proceeded further, whereof one desired God to be merciful unto him, now that he was going into the house of Rimmon. The council dined the first Sunday with the lord mayor; and, being there again on Sunday last, were feasted by the lord bishop.

The Spanish ambassador, together with him that came from the archduchess, came from Cambridge on Sunday. They were one day with the king at Newmarket, who could not give them audience at Cambridge, as was appointed, by reason he was troubled with the gout, so that he hath referred them to treat with certain of the council.

[1] Leonard Man, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells.
[2] Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Norwich and Ely.
[3] Dr. Mountaine, Bishop of London.

The Earl of Suffolk, as chancellor of Cambridge, attended him there all the while, and in their way homeward entertained them at Audley End. They lodged at Trinity College, where they were invited to a play; but being made acquainted beforehand, for fear of offence, that the argument of it consisted chiefly of a Jesuit and a Puritan, they would not adventure, but wished they had not had notice; for they seemed to like all their entertainment so well, that they desired to have all the orations, and other exercises and disputations, that they might be printed.

On Thursday, in the afternoon, the Earl of Exeter's funeral was kept at Westminster. The body was brought from the Painted Chamber, by the Court of Requests, down through Westminster Hall and the Palace, into King Street, and so by the west door into the minster. The Archbishop of Canterbury meant to have preached, but being laid of the gout, Dr. Joseph Hall supplied his place. By reason of his absence, the Lord of Carlisle's, the Lord Andover's, two of his own sons that are sick, and some others, the show was not so great as it should have been, yet they say there was a fair many; but in regard there was neither dinner, supper, banquet, nor so much as a cup of drink, it was called a dry funeral.

There is a rumour raised now again, that the Lord Roos should be living; and his father, that was best acquainted with his humours and tricks, doth, or seems to believe it.

The Lord of St. Albans is in his old remitter, and come to lie at his old lodgings in Gray's Inn; which is the fulfilling of a prophecy of one Locke, a familiar of his, of the same house, that knew him *intus et in cute;* who seeing him go there in great pomp, with the great seal before him, said to divers of his friends, "we shall live to have him here again."

There is a doubtful speech abroad, that Sir Edward Coke should be cracked, his brains being overburdened with a surcharge of his children's debts, which arise to £26,000, besides £10,000 of his own. But this is only whispered as yet, and I hope may prove false.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 14, 1622-3.

The prince and my lord marquis came well through the greater part of France, to and from Bordeaux, though not unknown, and were offered great honour, would they have yielded to have been publicly known, as also if they would return back that way. It is hoped likewise that they got well to Bayonne, the last town and port of French ground; and also, ere this, to be well arrived at Madrid.

The Earl of Carlisle and Lord Mountjoy, when they had excused to the French king the manner of the prince's passage, rode presently thence towards Spain. The Lords Andover, Vaughan, and Kensington (Sir Henry Rich), went hence also twelve days ago that way overland for Spain. The beginning of the next week there go likewise hence about 200 persons more, of nobles, knights, gentlemen and others, towards Portsmouth, there to embark in two ships, one of the king's, the other a merchant ship, for St. Sebastian's; afterwards to ride overland to Madrid. It is said my lords the Bishops of St. Asaph and Exeter also go, either now or in May, with the fleet, and have £1000 apiece given them.

Two days ago came Count Mansfeld's secretary hither, and rode the second and last time, to present his master's service to our sovereign. But, alas! our hands are now bound by the absence of our most precious jewel.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 15, 1622-3.

Our Archbishop of Spalato being heard by a consistory held for that purpose, is confined to a monastery at Monte Cassino, a day's journey from Rome. Dr. Pemberton,[1] last commencement full merry in my chamber, died on Tuesday last, at three o'clock, of the black jaundice.

[1] Dr. William Pemberton, D.D., who was presented to the rectory of High Ongar, in Essex, in August, 1611. He published several sermons.—Newcourt's *Repertorium*, vol. ii.

The king heard our comedy on Wednesday, but expressed no remarkable mirth thereat. He laughed once or twice towards the end. At dinner, before the comedy, their talk in the presence was, as I heard, most of the prince. One present tells me, that he heard the king say, he hoped he would bring the lady with him. Dr. Richardson[1] brought before the king a paper of verses, in manner of an epigram, which Bishop Neil read, and others. A friend of mine, over the bishop's shoulder, got two of them by heart.

On Monday last, Dr. Man and Dr. Wren had their despatch at Newmarket for Spain. They also asked the king's advice what they should do, if they chanced to meet the host carried in the streets as the manner is; who answered, that they should avoid to meet if they could: if not, they must do as they did there, and so give no scandal. But I suppose they expected another answer, for a better privilege, as being his son's chaplains; but it is a hard case.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 21, 1622-3.

Sir Edward Harwood sent me your letter at his first coming, but I had not the hap to see him till yesterday. Gerrotson's sentence, and all that belongs to that business, we had here in print four or five days before.

For want of other matter, I send you here certain verses made upon Jack's and Tom's journey; for the prince and marquis went through Kent under the names of Jack and Tom Smith. They were fathered first upon the king, but, I hear since, they were only corrected and amended by him. The other paper is but a toy, touching the great loss of the library at Heidelberg.

After two or three disappointments, the 12th of this month, the king went to Cambridge, was there by ten o'clock, had dined before eleven, then went to the Hall,

[1] Probably John Richardson, D.D., master of Peter House, and afterwards of Trinity College, in Cambridge, who died about the beginning of the year 1625.

which being darkened, the play[1] began presently, they having had order to abbreviate or contract it, from six or seven hours to four or five, which he sat out with good satisfaction, and went back to Newmarket that night. It is said, he will be to-morrow at Royston, and on Wednesday at Theobalds.

The Earl of Oxford is upon his forthcoming, if he will subscribe and acknowledge his offence. The case is well altered; for, within these two or three months, I know some friends of his, that were examined upon points that might touch him *in capite*, and it was generally thought he should come to his trial. I hear that one Bembrigge, his steward, brother to my man Christopher, that died in the Palatinate, was his principal accuser. But now it is given out, he may chance be general of the fleet that goes to fetch the prince and the infanta. But there will be somewhat ado to furnish out that small fleet of ten or twelve ships, as well in regard of their wants, as especially of mariners, which absent and hide themselves out of the way, whether it be for the bad pay, or other ill usage, I know not; so that there have been two proclamations of late, to call them home from foreign services, and to find them out that lie lurking at home. But, in my poor judgment, the cause should be first found and removed; for, otherwise, proclamations and commissions that are here so frequent upon every occasion, will serve to no great purpose; I know the time when it was otherwise.

The last news we heard of the prince came this day sevennight from Walsingham Greisley, that belongs to the Earl of Bristol, who met them the 2nd of this month, almost a day's journey within France. They carried him back to Irun, the first town in Spain, upon the confines, and there stayed him a whole day to rest themselves, and make his despatch. It seems by that he brings and says, that the prince was not expected there; but that it will be as strange news to them as it was to us; and, withal, that things are not so forward and ripe there as we take them. But what this noble ingenuity and confidence to commit and cast himself into their hands may work, is

[1] Ignoramus.

uncertain. In the mean time, here be two ships making ready with all possible speed; the one at Portsmouth, the other at Plymouth, to carry away his provisions and servants, whereof the Lord Leppington, or Carey, hath the chief charge to see them carry themselves civilly, religiously; and that they go not to mass. I hear not of any great number nor bravery, more than eight footmen and six pages, that are said to be well appointed.

The young Lord Compton hath charge of the jewels that are to be sent and presented; which are the choice of all in the Tower, and estimated at £200,000; but, by the more moderate, at £80,000. There is a continual posting likewise through France, which, together with the expense that the others must make from the sea-side to Madrid, will so exhaust our coin, that it is so scant already, that it is feared we shall be driven to use black moneys, as they call it, and is now in a manner altogether current in Spain. And wise men stick not to say that this match, one way or other, will stand the king and kingdom in as much as she is like to bring, besides whatsoever else may like to happen. Many of our churchmen are hardly held in, and their tongues itch to be talking, insomuch that Dr. Everard, the preacher at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, is committed, for saying somewhat more than he should. And on Sunday last, in the parish church next to us, one went so far, that the parson of the church caused the clerk to sing him down with a psalm, before he had half done.

I had forgot that the Lord of Buckingham went extraordinary ambassador, and prime commissioner with the Lord of Bristol, the ambassador resident, and Sir Francis Cottington, in the treaty of the marriage; and that we hear of a patent gone after him, whereby he is made Duke of Buckingham.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 21, 1622-3.

Mr. Greisley is come from Spain, who met the prince well (God be thanked!) and the lord marquis, with their two masters, at Irun, the first town in Spain, who took

him back with them to their first night's stage, on Sunday was fortnight, our 2nd of the present, and wrote that night hither. They were by course to be at Madrid by Saturday or Sunday next following, at the farthest. All this week have the 200 been going from London to Dartmouth to attend upon the prince.

Extract of a letter from Spain.

March 18-28, 1622-3.

You shall understand that the prince and marquis arrived here under the names of Brown and Smith, upon the 17th day of this present month. It was presently blazed abroad, and the second day after, the king brought out his sister, in great state, to be seen of the prince; and, late at night, the king and he had a private meeting in the fields, hard by the town. He lay ten days at my Lord of Bristol's house, and yesterday he made a most stately and magnificent entry into the king's palace, under a most rich cloth of State. The king himself, with all the guards and councils, came to accompany him, and it was decreed by the council of State, that the king should give him the hand at all meetings.

He went in the same form and state that the kings of Spain do at their coronation. It is beyond imagination, to think what shouts and acclamations of joy ran amongst the people, crying, "*Vive el Princesse d'Ingilterra!*" He is now in the palace, attended by Spaniards, and they are noblemen: his table is served with flesh, though in Lent. There was a day of triumphs, and running at the ring appointed, which was not well performed by the Spanish courtiers in taking the same, but was often missed. But the prince, taking his horse and spear in hand, did run at the ring, and at first took it, and laid it down, and run no more at that time; which caused great admiration. The king, at his first entry into the palace, congratulated his welcome with the gift of all offices falling in the time of his residence in Spain.

In the king's house, about 300 prisoners, some of them for very enormous crimes committed, were freed; and

there is order given to release any English, Irish, or Scottish galley-slaves, throughout all Spain. There is another order come out, that no man shall scandalize or abuse any man about matters of religion. Likewise, the reformation of ruffs, gold and silver lace, is recalled, and both men and women may wear what they list, whilst the prince is here.

We expect every day from France the Lords Hay and Mountjoy, with a multitude of the prince's servants; and some days hence we hope to have here a splendid complete English court.

The dispensation is not yet sent from Rome. Howsoever, we hope all matters will be here absolutely concluded by Michaelmas, and the prince and his equipage to sail home with his new wife.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 28, 1623.

The prince's highness, the 7th of this present, leaving of purpose Sir Thomas Cottington and Mr. Porter half a day's journey behind, came with the lord marquis and their guide, to the Earl of Bristol's house, at Madrid, at eight in the night, desired to speak presently with his lordship, as having a letter to deliver to him from Mr. Cottington, who was behind, and had a mischance by the way, they having promised to speak with his lordship before they went to their lodging. The servant said, his lordship was retired into his study, and there being busy about his papers, yet, upon their importunity, went unto him, who sent for them up, and they were brought through the countess's chamber, into the earl's study, where they first made themselves known. A little after, his lordship sent to tell Count Gondomar that the Marquis of Buckingham was come, and he presently advertised the king thereof, affirming further, that doubtless the prince was come with him. The next morning, before they were up, the king sent his favourite to welcome the marquis, who, with the prince, presently arose; but yet, before they could be ready to admit the favourite, the king himself was come. Great was the joy at meeting, and the king

said, though it were Lent, it should not be Lent to him; but he should have all that he would, and the country could afford. Yea, and the better to express his affection, he desired the prince to tell him wherein he should chiefly pleasure him that first day; who answered, in letting him see his mistress, for whose sake he had undertaken so long, wearisome, and dangerous a journey. The king promised, sent presently for her to meet him in coach on a plain. Abroad they go; the prince with the king in his coach (which made the people wonder what stranger it should be); the marquis in the favourite's coach. The Lady Mary came to the place appointed, and stood with her coach abreast the king's. The king bade her unmask, because he would talk with her. She unmasks; they talk. The prince sees her, and she him; but they spake not together. Then they parted, and the king brought the prince back; by which time the rumour was spread abroad that it was the prince. The people so flocked and thronged to see him, that the coaches could hardly pass, and so gazed that the prince was fain to stand up in the coach all the way, to show himself unto them. The letters he dated the 9th of this present. The prince, as is said, saw the lady three times, in manner as at first, but still without speaking to her. The merchants' letters say, there is neither money nor trading, nor almost victuals to be had for money. The worst chamber to be gotten is at 40*s.* the week; a turkey, at 10*s.* or 20*s.*; a hen, at 5*s.* or 6*s.*

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 29, 1623.

I came yesterday from Loft's,[1] whither I went to congratulate my cousin's new dignity, and call my young lady madam. I met there two gentlemen newly come from court, who told me that on Tuesday his majesty had letters from Madrid of the prince's safe arrival there; and that he presently sent Gondomar to the King of Spain, to tell him, that howsoever he meant not yet to discover himself publicly, yet thought fit to make himself known unto him,

[1] Loft's Hall, Essex—the seat of Sir John Mead.

and therefore desired some opportune place, where, without farther discovery, they might have an interview; and that his sister, the Infanta, if he pleased, might be there also. Hereupon, the king, taking his sister and favourite in coach with him, went out to take the air privately, when the prince, our ambassador, and Gondomar, in another coach, as was appointed, encountered; where our prince would have leaped out of the coach to salute the King of Spain, but that Gondomar held him until the King of Spain came forth of his coach, and talked with him at the coach side, a quarter of an hour or more, the Infanta all that time presenting herself to his view. Since this he hath been twice or thrice at court undiscovered to any save the aforesaid, and hath (as they told us) written to the king, that he is now better resolved than ever. But you cannot choose but hear of this more perfectly than I can here.

I will tell you a jest: the Bishop of London, you know, gave order, from his majesty to the clergy, not to prejudicate the prince's journey by their prayers, &c., but only to pray to God to return him home in safety again unto us, and no more. An honest, plain preacher, being loth to transgress the order given, desired in his prayer, "That God would return our noble prince home again unto us, and no more"—supposing the words *no more* to be a piece of the prayer enjoined; whereas the bishop's meaning was, that they should use no more words than that form only.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 4, 1623.

On Tuesday night last, our bells rung merrily, and our streets glittered with bonfires, for joy of the prince's safe coming to the Spanish court, and his wonderful, great, and royal entertainment there. The prince, from Paris to Madrid, being about 750 miles, in thirteen days; which was near upon sixty miles, one day with another. The last Sunday came Mr. Grimes, of the prince's bedchamber, hither in fifteen days from Spain, who, amongst other

letters, brought one from Sir Francis Cottington to his lady, whereof this following is said to be the copy :—

" We are well, and the braveliest entertained that ever men were. The prince is lodged in the king's palace, so that he and his majesty lie under one roof. He was brought hither from a monastery, half a mile out of the town, being as far distant as from Whitehall to Westminster, with the greatest majesty that ever man was, riding thence through all the town, where the houses were all hanged with tapestry, on the king's right hand, under a canopy, and with the same respect they use to the King of Castile. All coaches were for that time forbidden, and the late proclamation against gorgeous apparel dispensed with, the great ones and courtiers being most richly attired, and the horses most sumptuously caparisoned. When the foremost were come to the palace, the king was but setting forth with the prince from the monastery, the Marquis of Buckingham, with the Count de Olivares, the Spanish favourite, following next, and after them the Earl of Bristol, with a Spanish grandee. Before they set forth, came first all the councillors, and kissed his highness's hand, intimating they were commanded to do no favour, nor bestow any office without his direction, during his abode there.

" Then came the grandees, nobles, and dons, every one kissing his hand ; and then came the king himself. The prisons were all opened, the prisoners set at liberty, and the fees paid by the king of above a hundred persons, of which twenty were condemned to death, and six of them for coining false moneys. For eight days together they made bonfires and fireworks throughout the town ; and I never saw people so joyed in all my days. There are three grandees appointed every day to wait continually in the prince's privy chamber ; and he is served for carver, cupbearer, and sewer, with none but marquises and earls. And all this was done by mature advice of council, who, before, sat together about fifteen hours, viz., from noon, till three of the clock the next morning. Being come to the palace, having visited the queen, and brought to his lodging, first the king gave him a basin and ewer of gold,

large, set with rich stones of jewels, gloves, and sweet perfumes; and lastly, the Lady Mary, his mistress, sent him a rich suit of hangings, with a jewel, or jewels."

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 5, 1623.

The king comes hither this day, where, or at Hampton Court, it is thought he will continue till the week before Easter, unless he make a step to Windsor, to excuse the Marquis Hamilton's charge and trouble of making a solemn journey here to his installation.

The provost of Eton[1] was cut of the stone this day sevennight, and being so weak before, it is doubted he will hardly hold out: Sir William Beecher hath a promise to be his successor, which seems strange at first sight, that he should be preferred before so many and great pretendents, as, among others, the Lord of St. Albans, Sir Robert Naunton, Sir James Fullerton, &c., so that some conclude it was first come first served, to avoid the importunity of so many competitors. But withal it shows that the world grows hard here, or that the place is risen in reputation, when it hath such wooers.

The 24th of the last month, the day of the king's inauguration, the council came to Paul's Cross, and dined at Sheriff Hanford's. They made but a poor show; seven or eight at most, among whom the lord president was the prime man; none of the grandees, as the lord archbishop, lord keeper, lord treasurer, lord marshal, affording their presence. One Richardson, a young man, of Magdalen College, Oxford, preached, and performed it reasonably well, and the better, because he was not long nor immoderate in commendation of the time, but gave Queen Elizabeth her due.

Here is a third strict proclamation come forth for gentlemen of quality to avoid this town, and reside, and keep hospitality at their mansion-houses in the country. It includes noblemen likewise, and prelates. It is nothing pleasing to all; but least of all to the women.

[1] Mr. Thomas Murray.

I think the fair wind hath carried away three or four ships that were appointed for the prince's provision and followers; among which are two or three chaplains, with the furniture of a chapel, as plate, and candlesticks for the altar and communion-table; vestments, and service books in Latin, wherein our Liturgy must be said, and the sacrament celebrated with wafer-cakes, and water mixed with the wine. All which is to little purpose, for the Spaniards will not vouchsafe the hearing, nor looking on.

On Sunday, Grimes, gentleman of the horse to my Lord of Buckingham, arrived here out of Spain, with news of the prince's wonderful entertainment and kind usage there; a relation whereof, they say, we shall have next week in print. In the mean time, I send you here what is come to my hand. Gondomar, at the first sight of the prince, fell down flat before him, and would not be raised, but cried out, *Nunc dimittis*, as having attained the top of his desire, and for this service, at the prince's suit, is made one of the eight, or cabinet councillors.

The first of this month, by commandment, here was bonfires and ringing of bells, for this welcome news of the prince's safe arrival at Madrid. God send we may praise at parting, which I wish the rather, for that, in the midst of all this jollity, I hear the Lord Digby writes that, as he pretends no private benefit to himself in the good success of this business, so he desires he may be blameless if, by reason of the prince's coming, matters fall not out according to expectation. Here is a whispering underhand of no good intelligence 'twixt him and the Lord of Buckingham, which may arise upon divers reasons. The lord marquis carried with him the authority of extraordinary ambassador, and principal commissioner in all the treaty, and a patent is said to be gone after him to make him Duke of Buckingham, or Clarence. As likewise we speak of three more to be shortly created—the Duke of Lennox, Duke of Richmond; the Marquis Hamilton, Duke of Cambridge; and the Earl of Arundel, Duke of Norfolk, to the great disgust of the Duchess of Lennox, who is said to labour all she can to stand alone, and not become retrograde.

The prince hath sent for the Lord Kensington, Sir George

Goring, Sir Thomas Jermyn, and I know not how many more, which are preparing to be gone next week. He hath likewise sent for his arms and tilting horses; but before they can arrive, it is like the weather will grow so warm that it will be too violent an exercise for him or them.

In the note of the shipping enclosed, there is the Great Prince wanting, a ship built by Prince Henry, and already so far out of reparations, that it will be a great charge to fit her to go to sea; so that, all things considered, with the continual posting to and fro, and the expense of those that must attend the journey, and voluntaries, this marriage, one way or other, is like to cost the king and realm as much as she brings, be it what it will. For we must now be content with what conditions they please to impose.

This day, I saw a letter of Lord Digby's to the king, wherein there was no matter of great moment, but so particular a relation of all their visits and revisits, that, in a manner, it tells every step.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 5, 1623.

Those who come from London tell us, that on Tuesday last, the lords of the council, by appointment from the king, gave order for a general ringing of bells and certain number of bonfires in every street of the city, and the constables being commanded to see it performed, for some good news that his majesty had lately received. Some say they know not what it was for; others say it was for the prince's safe arrival and good welcome at Madrid, though that news came that day sennight, and was a week old. But it may be that his majesty expected the city should have expressed their joy of their own accord, which, because they forgot, they were thus commanded. Yet some think they observed the bonfires very thinly, if at all, attended, being suffered to burn out without company. But, it may be, they run not about a bonfire in the city as they do in the country.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 11, 1623.

With the first and last ships, there went, amongst others of the prince's servants, eight of his footmen; with three more to go now, viz., the George, of the king's, that goes to fetch back the marquis, and two hired ships, to carry eight great tilting horses and fair ambling geldings, of the prince's; there go twenty-two more of his footmen, which, with the former eight, make thirty, the very apparelling of which stands in £3000.

On Saturday night last, came another post from Spain.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, April 19, 1623.

The king came hither the 5th of this present, and the next day, being Palm Sunday, the lord archbishop preached at court, in the open preaching-place, where there had been no sermons all this Lent, nor the king present at any till then in the chapel, when the lord keeper[1] preached on Good Friday. As likewise we had a very proper man, one Oldsworth,[2] that day at Paul's Cross; and, on Easter Sunday, the master of the Savoy, Balcanqual, at the Spital: and Dr. Rawlingson[3] and one Smith, both Oxford men, the two days following, who all performed their part exceedingly well; and if he that is to make the rehearsal sermon to-morrow follow the same steps, I have seldom known these places better furnished.

The king removed, on Wednesday, to Hampton; on Thursday, to Windsor, where he makes account to remain ten or eleven days.

The Provost of Eton outlived nine days, which is accounted the fatal time, for those that be cut of the stone, but died two days after, when the canvass for the place

[1] Williams.

[2] Probably Richard Holdsworth, about this time chaplain to the Lord Chief Justice Herbert, and soon after rector of St. Peter's; and, in 1629, professor of divinity in Gresham College.

[3] Dr. John Rawlinson, chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Egerton and to the king, and rector of Whitechurch, in Shropshire.

began afresh, and Sir Robert Naunton laid in hard for it, offering to quit all pensions, promises, and pretensions whatsoever. But the king reserves that and all other matters of grace till the Lord of Buckingham's return; yet he hath renewed his promise to Sir William Beecher, and sent letters to the College not to proceed to any election till they know his further pleasure. But I hear underhand, he is like to have a hard condition annexed, to marry the widow, or provide for her and her children.

But, for the more grace to the Lord of Buckingham in his absence, his brother, Kit Villiers, is presently to be made Baron of Daventry and Earl of Anglesey, with the endowment of £100 land, old rent, and the gift of a forest, which is to be sold or enclosed; so that his lady and cousin is like to be a worthy countess.

Sir William St. John and Sir Henry Mervyn, that had the command last summer of two of the king's ships to conduct Monsieur Soubise to Rochelle, have lost their places, and are committed, for winking or giving way to his surprising of a rich ship of Dunkirk, that brought treasures out of Spain.

Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the lord marquis, came thence, about Sunday was sevennight, with welcome news of the prince's health and welfare; and that matters are so forward there, that the prince desires his majesty to hasten the sending of the fleet; for he hopes to be, with his lady infanta, at the sea-side, before it arrives. Yet, in the mean time, his sending for his arms and tilting horse makes men doubt all cannot be well done so soon. They are shipped here already; but the wind that should carry them away keeps them here in the river; and most men think they are like to serve to little use, after so long lying on shipboard, and so long a journey by land from the sea-side to Madrid, together with so great change of air and diet, and the heat of the year coming on, whereby it will be nothing fit, neither for his highness to use so violent an exercise. But that which makes men suspect most of all that matters are not so current is, that we hear the Marquis of Inojosa, your old acquaintance, is coming hither ambassador, and is to set out thence the 1st of May;

or rather, as the Spanish ambassador here gives out, the 10th. The dispensation is not come, neither; but they say the Duke of Passerana is sent to Rome to hasten it; but goes in a litter, as is given out.

The Lord Kensington, Sir George Goring, young Montagu, and I know not how many more, are gone for Spain, in several troops; and I hear the lord had £6000 to bear his charges; as likewise that Grimes is despatched thither again, with £1000 for his pains and expense, and a pension of £500 for his life, or, as some say, the customs of Carlisle.

Sir Francis Steward is going for Spain, with one of the king's ships and a pinnace, to bring home the lord marquis presently. Sir John Wentworth is gone with him in company, who is lately become a Roman Catholic, forsooth, as likewise the Lord Vaughan, the prince's comptroller, who never discovered himself till now, and it is likely, at the infanta's coming, we shall have many more fall away as fast as withered leaves in autumn. But we hear the prince hath given order, that he and all his regiment and retinue, below the stairs, as they call it, upon their arrival in Spain, shall return back, because they should not pester the court nor country, where provisions are scant enough for those that be there already; insomuch, that it is said the chaplains, and furniture for the chapel, shall either return, or tarry at the sea-side.

Some whispering there is, that the coming of the ambassador is about a treaty or meeting at Brussels, for the compounding of the business of the Palatinate, and all other differences now on foot in Christendom; which meeting would have been, but for favouring the king's purse, that he might have seen their real proceeding. But if the marriage be not perfected till that business be ended, God knows when we may expect to see the prince, unless he grow impatient of so long delay. And the fleet may be all in good time, though it should stay a month or two longer. The Earl of Rutland is declared admiral of it, the Lord Windsor, vice-admiral, and the Lord Morley,[1] rear-admiral: all of the same stamp.

[1] William Parker, Baron Monteagle, summoned to Parliament on January 30, 1621, as Lord Morley and Monteagle.

But let men think and talk what they will, the king knows more than we all, and is very confident of the success, and joys much to talk of the prince's journey, and all the accidents by the way, whereof he was fullyi nformed by Grimes, and how many falls they had: the lord marquis, seven, Sir Francis Cottington, twelve, and so of the rest; only the prince had never a one. I spoke with one yesterday, that on Tuesday heard the king relate the whole story, *ab ovo*, from point to point, with great contentment, and of the honours done him in Spain. But by that relation, I gather pregnant arguments to mine own judgment, that he went not unknown to the court of France, but that they dissembled their knowledge. We look daily for fresh news from them, and the king thinks every day ten till it come.

On Good Friday, —— was prayed for at Paul's Cross, and died that evening. He was buried privately on Tuesday night, though there were a great deal of company, and Sir John Bennet, with much ado, got leave to be there. The Lord of Bridgewater's only son died yesterday, but there is hope left, seeing his lady is with child, and ready to lie down.

On Tuesday, there was a foul, barbarous murder committed in Lombard Street, by a 'prentice, upon two of his mistress's children, of six or seven years old, by cutting their throats, and then hanged himself. The reason is said to be some devilish revenge for ill usage.

The Earl of Oxford lies still by it, and is like to do till the Lord of Buckingham either come or send; and there is a marriage treating, or rather a contract, of a year old, 'twixt him and the Lady Diana Cecil, with whom he is to have £4000 in money, and £500 land presently, and £500 more after her father's decease.

There is a great faction fallen out in the Virginia Company. The heads on the one side are, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Cavendish, Sir Edward Sackville, Sir John Ogle, Sir Edwin Sandys, with divers others of meaner quality. On the other side are, the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Henry Mildmay, Alderman Johnson, and many more. On Monday, they

were before the king, with their accusations and allegations, where Sir Edward Sackville carried himself so malapertly and insolently, that the king was fain to take him down soundly and roundly; but I hear that, by means of the lord treasurer, he made his peace the next day.

The provostship of Eton seems not to be so assured to Sir William Beecher, but that there is still some nibbling at it; and Sir Robert Eaton, a Scot, is in as fair possibility as any of the rest, as I have learned very lately.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, April 19, 1623.

The doctor[1] told me the archduchess had made a motion to our king, that whereas the House of Austria was not yet out of danger of further seditions and commotions, unless they are more providently prevented, it would please his majesty, for their greater security from such dangers, and the more easy settling of Christendom in quietness and peace, as also for a pledge of his sincerity and good affection both to the one and to the other, to cause his son-in-law, daughter, and grandchildren, to remove from the Hague to Altezzi, in the Palatinate, to live there under the guard and protection of the King of Spain. He told me, also, that he had seen and read a Spanish book, in manner of a *corranto*, printed about Christmas time at Lisbon, with the oversight and approbation of the College of the Inquisition there, wherein, for English news, was related, that the Prince of Great Britain was very shortly to come into Spain, there to be instructed in the Catholic religion, and from thence to go to Rome to be reconciled to the Pope, and so to return and marry the infanta. When I heard this, I wondered less at the applause the people gave him at his coming and entertainment; for it is probable that, seeing the first part of their talk fulfilled, they hoped for the rest also. But I hope they will be all deceived, and this printed tale prove as true as the like did a year ago or more, that the heretics of England, because King James was thought to be a

[1] Meddus.

Catholic at heart, and so incapable of reigning by the law of the realm, and because he had suffered or consented to the despoiling of the Prince Palatinate of his lands and dignities, and lately held so inward correspondence with Spain, therefore they had deposed him, and sent secretly for the Palatine, and set him up; so that King James had sent to the King of Spain for aid. This the doctor showed me: it was printed and most confidently avowed by a don, who wrote it from the court of Madrid, as the news brought the king by the last post from England. This I relate that you may the better judge of the former of the prince, otherwise it is old news.

Others told me that the king, desiring to borrow some more money of the city, and being denied, it was talked that he was about to appoint a commission of some, betwixt the chief of the city, to consult how the freedom thereof might be laid open to all, who should give the king a fine, and pay him £40 a-year. But this they thought would vanish. They talked, also, that Mansfield's messenger brought a letter from his master, wherein he challenges his majesty of a promise last spring, that, if he would go out of the Palatinate with his army, if it were not restored before this year began, he would send them 10,000 men, and pay them; and when Secretary Calvert began to read, and the contents to appear, the king cried, "O my toe, my toe!" and could hear no more, but appointed the secretary to answer, that his majesty's purpose would at length appear to have gone most forward, when the world took them to go most contrary to his ends. How true this is I know not, but this and the other the like I heard there, which were tedious to relate.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, April 25, 1623.

Mr. Killegrew, who about a month ago was sent into Spain, returned hither on Saturday last, with assurance of the prince's welfare; that on Palm Sunday, being their Easter Day, he first spake with the lady infanta; hoped shortly to be married, if the dispensation were once come

from Rome (which was daily expected), and hoped to be back here in June or July. Hereupon, the tilting horses, and provisions thereto belonging, were, at Tilbury Fort, disembarked; the rest of the fleet ordered to be made ready with speed. Two of the king's first ships are on the coast, going to fetch the lord marquis back, and other two hired to carry the twenty-four ambling geldings.

Yesterday, as Mr. N. came through Lombard Street, a Spanish coachman, coming with an empty cloak, a man, thinking nothing, pulled up his coach, and so made the horse start a little. Whereupon the Spaniard lashed him over the face with his whip, and a tumult being made, a gentleman, that could speak Spanish, gave him some ill language, telling him if he had done so in Spain, his throat would have been cut. He answered, there was a time coming when they would pay us all.

Yesterday, I was at a visitation sermon, where I heard an Oxford man, chaplain to the archbishop, speak wondrous plainly and vehemently against the fearful or flattering style of our clergy, viz.: "Who dare now say that did ill in marrying with idolators, in Jehoshaphat in making affinity with Ahab? Who dare call the great ones princes of Sodom? Who dares say that schismatics or puritans, who do but break peace, are hunted as with the inquisition, while they go uncontrolled who seek to kill the peace-makers." That which is sometimes muttered, or spoken, is doubted to be too true; that a main cause of all the misery and mischief in our land is the fearfullest of flattery of our prelates and clergy. The hope of a crosier staff or a cardinal's hat could make many a scholar in England beat his brain to reconcile the Church of Rome and England.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 3, 1623.

The king kept St. George's feast at Windsor, where there was no great show, nor the knights and procession went not out their ordinary circuit, by reason the king was fain to be carried in a chair, not from any grief or infirmity

more than the weakness of his legs; for otherwise, they say, he looks as well and as fresh as he did many a day. Secretary Conway was very gay and gallant there, all in white, *cap-à-pie*, even to his white hat and white feather.

On Monday, the king removed to Hampton Court; on Tuesday, hither; and on Thursday, the 1st of this month, went a-Maying to Theobalds. We had that day a general muster of 6000 men, well armed and appointed. His way lay through the midst of them, so that he passed along without any great applause given, or received more than a volley of shot when he was passed, which so terrified Secretary Conway's horses, that they ran away, and threw his coachman down, and, without good help, himself in danger of a shrewd turn.

This day the court removes to Greenwich, where it is like to continue till towards the progress, which will be westward, but how far is uncertain; for it depends on the prince's return with his lady. But most think the king will expect them about Southampton or Plymouth. But the time is more uncertain, though we presume and talk of a speedy despatch, for the dispensation is said to be come, but with what clauses and conditions is not yet published; though men mutter of a toleration in religion, and a revocation, or at least suspension, of all the acts and statutes made against the Roman Catholics. But at the coming of the Marquis of Inojosa we shall know as well that, as the other articles that concern the King of Spain and the infanta, which are said to be hard enough: as, the leaving the Hollanders; the giving of licence to the Spaniard to bring what number of ships he pleases into our ports, there to furnish and victual them at reasonable rates, and I know not what else: which I am so far from believing, that I cannot persuade myself but the fear is more than the danger. Now for the infanta's part: it is said she is to have £8000 jointure for every £100,000 she is to bring, which, being given out to be £600,000, it will make a great breach into the crown land, which hath been so much weakened already, and this must be confirmed by Parliament; with divers other prerogatives and privileges she is to have, more than ever Queen of England had.

The Spanish ambassador hath been at St. James's and Denmark House, to fit and appoint her lodgings, with many alterations; specially there must be a new chapel built in either place; for which order is taken with the surveyor, Inigo Jones, to have them done out of hand, and yet with great state and costliness. The Savoy Chapel, likewise, shall be converted to the use of her household; and the government or mastership of that place given to the Padre Maestro, that went hence to Rome, or to any other that shall be, as it were, bishop and superintendent over her priests and chaplains. And it is said Mr. Balcanqual shall be provided of the provostship of Eton, or somewhat else as good, or better.

The fleet is preparing with all speed, and the prince's ship so richly furnished with all manner of bedding, hangings, and the like, as hath not been seen at sea; and all things are so carried, as if we were to receive some goddess to come among us. But for all this haste, most are persuaded we cannot have her so soon, so many negociations and other things being to be done and provided for; and therefore some think the prince may come away, and she to come hereafter, when all conditions on our side are performed; and there is no greater reason alleged of the hastening it, than the great charge the prince puts them to there, and the penury and dearth of all things there at this time; which, though these few that come thence deny, and blaze out things otherwise, yet it is thought they have their lesson taught them; an argument whereof is drawn from this, that none of the prince's servants that were sent for are suffered to go to Madrid, no, not his chaplain, but are commanded to stay at Burgos, though many of them have been at great charge; only the Lord Leppington hath leave to go to the court, if he think good; and if any other arrive there post, by way of France, they are not well looked on.

Peter Killigrew arrived here this day fortnight, and went away again the week after. Tobie Matthew was despatched thither four or five days before him. Clarke, with one hand, an extraordinary clerk of the council, came thence this day sevennight, and is to be sent back pre-

sently. Thus they go up and down, like a well with two buckets.

Upon our bells and bonfires, for the prince's safe arrival in Spain, the University of Oxford took the alarm and did the like, and generally have made verses in praise and commendation of this happy match. The vice-chancellor[1] himself brought them up, and delivered them to the king. It is said they shall be printed, that the Spanish lady may see with what applause we are like to receive her. They do wisely, that coming so far short of Cambridge in playing and shooting, yet get before them in observance and blandishments.

On Wednesday night, at six o'clock, in the king's chamber, the lord keeper married Mrs. Thornax, a niece of the Duchess of Lennox, to the eldest son of Sir Robert Napier (or Sandy, as he was called, when he was a merchant of this town), of a Scottish race; and he is presently to be made a viscount of Scotland or Ireland.

Sir Isaac Wake hath leave to come home, and we expected him weekly; but, upon the prince's arrival in Spain, he had order from thence to do somewhat which hath hindered his journey, to the great grief of his sweetheart, Mrs. Bray, my ancient valentine.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 9, 1623.

On Monday last, Mr. Greisley, the Earl of Bristol's secretary, arrived here in eight days from the court of Spain, it being now one hundred miles nearer us than Madrid. What he brings us is not yet openly known, but kept secret; which occasions muttering, as if it were not pleasing, and as if the private letters which he brought for others were kept back.

Captain Barrow, the late brave governor of Frankendale, was knighted the last Sunday at Greenwich.

[1] William Piers, D.D, canon of Christ Church, and dean of Chester.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, May 16, 1623.

Yesterday, the Earl of Carlisle returned to court from Spain, but hath been long on the way, of whom nothing is yet heard.

There are two dukes made by patent; first, the Duke of Lennox is made Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Newcastle; next, the Lord Marquis of Buckingham made the Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry.

Viscount Mandeville's eldest son is said to be dead in Spain; and Archy, the king's fool, fell there also from his horse, and is killed.[1]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 17, 1623.

My writing is to little purpose, now that you have such and so many agents here, that will let nothing escape; yet Robert Eaton's verses may be worth your reading, wherein he woos the king for Eton; as likewise Thomas Murray's epitaph, and the complaint of his own fortune, wherein he aims at the great stir and pursuit after certain bad fellows, that all the last year made an occupation of stealing the king's deer out of Theobalds Park, though it be walled, which hath much incensed the king, and moved great indignation; so that there have been divers privy searches, and other diligence used to discover the principals, divers of the meaner sort being already in hold.

The last week Sir Henry Fiennes, half-brother to the Lord Norris, or Berkshire, was fined in the Star Chamber at £2000, imprisonment, and other censures, for contracting a marriage *de futuro*, after his wife's decease, with a young, proper gentlewoman, one Mrs. Somerfield, and in the mean time abusing her body, and goods he had gotten into his hands, to the value of £1600, with intent to cozen her. Many things worth the noting passed in the pleading, too long to recite.

There is a bill newly put into the Star Chamber against

[1] This is an error.

the Earl of Oxford, for certain scandalous speeches against the king and his government, whereof notice was sent him two days since. Whether it be only *ad correctionem*, or to satisfy the world that he hath not been detained so long upon a light displeasure, or to make the grace the greater, if by the Lord of Buckingham's mediation, or in contemplation of his mistress, the Lady Diana's suit, this fault may be forgiven him, time will show. Last week, here was a great marriage in town, 'twixt the Lord St. John's eldest son, to the Earl of Bridgewater's second daughter.

On Sunday was sevennight, Captain Burroughs, coming from Gravesend, landed at Greenwich, before coming to this town. Secretary Conway carried him presently to the king, who used him very graciously, and made him knight; as likewise, much about the same time, he gave the same honour to the young Viscount Doncaster, whose father arrived here on Thursday night out of Spain, and, as it seems, was welcome and well seen, for the next morning he had a warrant to the lord treasurer for a good round sum, but what it was I do not hear. It was bruited before his coming that he had given small content, and carried himself more stiffly in some points than some there thought fit. Whereupon, as well he as the Earl of Bristol were made strangers to the business; and report said, that the prince's servants were kept from him, and that all things were managed by himself and the Lord of Buckingham; as likewise that the king keeps all to himself, and acquaints nobody with any thing that comes thence, but burns the letters as fast as he reads them. For my part, I presume these are but idle discourses of idle brains, who had rather make news than want matter to talk. Indeed, posts go very fast to and fro; for since this day fortnight, that Greisley arrived, here have been two more, whereof one that belongs to Sir John Epsley came in less than seven days from Madrid, a thing not heard of.

We say here that Sir William Crofts is sent from the prince upon some message to the Queen of Bohemia.

There is great haste to set the fleet forward, and Sir Francis Steward is gone already with the patents, whereby

the lord marquis is created Duke of Buckingham and Earl of Coventry. He was willed to make all possible speed, that it might be there before the marriage, for the more grace to his grace; yet all these plain demonstrations cannot beat it into the heads of the vulgar, but that there be many rubs to be removed before the match be concluded; for they talk of many uncouth and unlikely conditions propounded, as well touching religion as matters of state, and especially the committing of Plymouth, or some other western haven, into the Spaniards' hands, until the jointure is assured, and other promises performed. But this is so improbable, and almost impossible, that it cannot but proceed from a vain fear in the people, who, the less they know, the more they suspect.

The Duke of Lennox is likewise made Duke of Richmond and Earl of Newcastle, and hath precedence by the Lord of Buckingham's own consent, who wrote, he would not take place of his father, as he calls him; though he must, as lord admiral, during his time, but not his posterity, to whom this dignity doth not descend to either of them both, but to their heirs male of their own body. It was expected the Earl of Arundel should be raised to the same rank; but they say he stands upon restitution rather than creation.

The Duke and Duchess of Richmond have gotten the grant of Ely House, in lieu whereof the bishop is to have that which was the Earl of Hertford's house, in Cannon Row. The Spanish ambassador is to remove shortly to Exeter House; and the duchess lays in hand to have all the furniture of Ely House, which is said to be very rich, and to a great value. The world says she and her lord have laid about them, and done their affairs well during this absence and interim.

Your cousin, Will Lytton, hath had a good windfall of late, by the death of the Lady Weld, his wife's aunt, who made him executor, whereby it is thought he will get £4000 or £5000 at least, besides £200 land, and great store of stuff. I should congratulate his good fortune, if he were kind to his sisters.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, May 24, 1623.

For news of him (the prince) his success, all means of learning aught is hindered; yet, how and by what means I know not, these reports which follow are frequent, and are told by such as come from court and city.

That Greisley, the post, at his return for Spain, carried an inhibition from our king, that my Lord Digby, Earl of Bristol, should no more intermeddle in the prince's business, but to permit all to my lord marquis; nor neither he, nor any of the prince's servants, to come at him, but only the said lord marquis, Cottington, and Porter. This is said to come from some letter of the lord marquis to the king, wherein he should complain that my Lord Digby should oppose or cross him in some particular. Some say, my lord marquis, the prince, and Lord Digby, being in the coach together, the Marquis commanded my Lord Digby out of the coach, as having somewhat to speak to his highness, which my lord might not hear; but my lord refused, telling him, that his authority in that place was as large and good as his, as having the quality of an ambassador.

All the prince's servants, chaplains, and all, are said to be coming back, as having not only no employment, but no permission to come at their master. That an inhibition from our king is given to all the English in Spain, merchants and others, not to write anything into England to their friends, about the prince and his affairs, on penalty, &c.

My Lord Hay is returned, but tells nothing, save only, that because he would not lose his journey into Spain, he made means to be honoured so much as but to see the infanta, and kiss her hand afore his return for England; which, with much difficulty and importunity, he at length obtained, and was brought into a room, where she was placed in a throne aloft, divers steps from the ground, and gloriously set forth, with her ladies about her. But my lord, with his complimental motions and approaches, could not draw so much from her as the least nod or inclination

of her body; no, not when he ascended up the [steps] unto her, so much as to put out her hand to him, when he was to kiss it; she remaining all the while as immoveable as the image of the Virgin Mary, when suppliants bow to her on festival days. This, they say, is the Spanish state. He complimented with her, but what she answered is not told. This I had from Dr. Balcanqual's brother, and he from him.

They say, besides, that the prince never yet saw the infanta the second time; and others say, that he remains pensive and sad, and thought scarce to be at full liberty.

——— *to the Rev. Joseph Mead.*

London, May 30, 1623.

The cross, which, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, was standing in her chapel upon the vestuary, and was then broken by one Fowler, and never since made again, yet now lately there [it] is.

Yesterday sennight, his majesty required my Lord of Winchester forthwith to cause Greenwich Chapel to be new repaired and gilded, being much decayed, as not having been new furnished since Queen Mary's days.

This day sennight, was the first foundation of the new chapel, at St. James's, for the Lady Mary of Spain in the afternoon. The Spanish ambassador made a cross on the first stone, laid it in mortar, made a prayer in French, that God would dispose of that foundation to his glory, and the good of the church, and universal general good of all Christians, and gave £80 to the workmen; his son laid the second stone, and gave them £80.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 30, 1623.

All your affairs here are in good case, and prosper; and those clouds and mists removed that threatened foul weather. It cannot but be a great comfort, as well to yourself as all your well-wishers, to see so many good friends stand so close to you; and it shows you are rich in that

kind. So that there is no doubt but all shall succeed well hereafter; and that the white mule will be more tractable, or if he should continue his jade's tricks, you are provided of an antidote against all venom.

The Earl of Rutland, the Lord Morley, and the Lord Windsor, took their leave at court on Sunday, in their best array, and their followers well appointed, in fair and rich liveries. The king was scant well pleased that they were no more forward, to take the benefit of this fair wind, and hastened them all he could; so that it is thought they be off the coast by this time, and will be soon at the Groyne, whither they be bound, if the wind hold good.

On Monday, the Duke of Richmond, the lord treasurer, Marquis Hamilton, Lord of Arundel, Secretary Calvert, and I know not who else, are to go towards Southampton, to see all things in order thereabout, for the reception and entertainment of the infanta; and all westward there is commandment for musters, and other provisions, if occasion serves. Yet all this while we have had no news from Spain, since I wrote last, which breeds suspicion that there is some stop or restraint in France.

The Lord Leppington landed this week, and hath brought back all, or most part of the prince's servants that were sent after him. They have had the pleasure of going and coming back from Spain by sea; for I hear of few or none but himself that went to Madrid, whence he came before Greisley and Clarke, that arrived here three weeks since. He came post from the sea-side, and delivered all he had to the king; but otherwise, he either knows or says little. As, likewise, the Earl of Carlisle is very silent, yet somewhat breaks out sometimes: as that at his coming away the infanta gave him leave to kneel to her above an hour; which is thought to be more than needed, either to be given or received. Whereupon, our great ladies begin to consult how to demean themselves when she comes, especially the double Duchess;[1] or, as some wags call her, the duchess cut upon duchess. And that, perhaps, hath bred a speech that, at the marriage, the prince may be made to

[1] Lennox and Richmond.

have the title of King of Scotland or Ireland, that the infanta may be a queen, as well as her sister of France.

In the mean time, some mutter that we presume much upon the Spaniard; that we trust him with our only prince, the principal and richest jewel of the crown, and the best part of our navy, all at once; besides so many other men of worth. But it is answered, again, that, for their own interests, it stands them upon to keep touch with us, being, as it were, without all other friends. We look daily to hear of the solemnization of the marriage. The Lord Rochford is to bring the news of the time appointed; the Lord Denbigh, of the consummation; and the Lord Andover, when they set out toward the sea-side.

Lincoln's Inn new chapel was consecrated with much solemnity, by the Bishop of London, on Ascension-day, where there was great concourse of noblemen and gentlemen; whereof two or three were endangered, and taken up dead for the time, with the extreme press and thronging. The Dean of St. Paul's[1] made an excellent sermon, they say, about dedications.

Sir William Monson's[2] eldest son (not he that should or would have been the favourite) was committed to the Gatehouse, on Sunday, by some of the council, for arguing on some points of popery, at the Lord of Nottingham's table, and avouching, before all the company, that the king was a papist in heart, whatsoever show he made outwardly to the contrary.

The Lord Walden hath had ill luck of late; for the last week he lost above £1500 in one day at bowls, at Hackney, and £400 or £500 two days before, of all which the Lord of Montgomery carried off the greater part.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 5, 1623.

On Monday, the Lord Duke of Richmond, the lord treasurer, the Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Montgomery,

[1] Dr. Donne.

[2] Author of Tracts on Naval Affairs.

Carlisle, if not others, all, with Sir Thomas Edmondes, treasurer of the household, Sir John Fearne, Allein,[1] some time a player, now squire of the bears, Inigo Jones, surveyor of the king's works, rode hence on Tuesday, towards Winchester and Southampton, to take order for his majesty's entertainment with the prince and Lady Mary, whither, it is said, the king intends to go and meet them. Which lords are to be here again on Saturday. Howbeit, I cannot learn that his majesty hath received any post from Spain these three weeks or more (I will not say hath not), which may seem strange, and occasion strange thoughts.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 14, 1623.

On Whitsun-Monday, the Duke of Richmond,[2] &c., took their journey towards Southampton, for lodging the infanta and her train, for mending the highways, and for shows, and to which purpose Inigo Jones, and Allen, the old player, went along with them, who alone, with two or three harbingers, or such like officers, might have performed all this as well as so many prime councillors; but that we must show how diligent and obsequious we are in any thing that concerns her. In their return, toward the end of the week, about some argument or disputation, the lord chamberlain and Lord Carlisle proceeded so far as to cross language, and some say further.

Our council of late are grown to good fellowship, for all these, and some of the rest, were the other week at two Italian ordinaries, and at one Medley's, in Milford Lane. The reason whereof is said to be saving, and good husbandry, by making a trial which of these is likeliest, or most fit to furnish a diet best, and best cheap, for the Spanish ambassador that is coming. And yet we hear not of his landing, though the coaches went down to Dover in the beginning of the week, and the Lord Kelly went two days since to Gravesend, with the king's barges, to receive him. It is doubted the tempestuous weather, which hath

[1] Edward Allen, the founder of Dulwich College.
[2] See preceding letter.

reigned these six or eight days, hath hindered his passage; or else, on design, or for the nonce, he doth *nectere moras*, or, with his counterfeit Spanish gravity, would seem to keep state; wherein we shall fit him, for there be two or three cloths of state in his lodgings at Exeter House; a thing which I do not remember to have seen afforded to any ambassador in Queen Elizabeth's time. It should seem he means to tarry by it, for he hath made over 30,000 crowns, by exchange, to be paid by 2000 crowns a-month.

Our lord mayor [1] was knighted at court on Sunday last, when the recorder [2] made so formal and flattering a speech, that the king seemed to surfeit of it, and was not pleased. Among other faults he found with the city, the principal was, that whereas at his first coming the Goldsmiths' Row, in Cheapside, was so fair and flourishing, they had now suffered it to be overrun and blemished with poor, petty trades, which he would have removed, and none to nestle and keep shop there but jewellers and goldsmiths.

The last week, we had a proclamation for the finding and apprehending of one Field, a lewd fellow, that made an occupation of stealing and selling the king's deer out of Theobalds Park. He was once or twice in hold, but still escaped away. Now there is ten pounds offered by this proclamation, to whosoever shall bring him, or discover where he is.

There was a Spanish post lately robbed of good store of money, about Shooter's Hill. The fellows that did it, and the postillion that set the match, are since taken by their own folly, and brought to court before the king, and like to pay for it with their necks.

An unruly son of the Lady Finch's, whom she sent to Virginia to be tamed, within five or six days after his return, fell into a drunken quarrel with the watch, where he was so hurt that he died the next morning: and a brother of Sir Gilbert Haughton's, his companion, is almost in the same case, if he be not dead already. A tide-boat, with more than thirty passengers, by negligence or want of skill, run upon a hoy, that was under sail, 'twixt this and Gravesend, so that there were fourteen drowned. The rest

[1] Peter Proby. [2] Heneage Finch.

escaped very narrowly. Leonus Moncke died lately, very rich for a clerk of the signet; his estate falling out, they say, toward £40,000.

The Countess of Buckingham came to town on Whit-Sunday to visit her daughter, the Lady Denbigh, that miscarried of somewhat, that should have been a child. She went that night to Greenwich, and came upon the king unexpected. The Lady of Bridgewater is brought a-bed of a son; as likewise, your sister Sedley, which I know is no news.

Here is a speech that the Duke of Buckingham shall be made Lord High Constable of England; the greatest office known with us, and hath been out of use many a day; and his father,[1] Rutland, should be Lord Admiral.

Till yesterday, we had no news out of Spain this month or five weeks; for the king had found a way to have advertisement thence, without notice of any body, the packets being sent to our ambassador in France, who sent them away by some servant or messenger of his own, and stayed those that brought them till answer came back to despatch them. But now Sir Francis Cottington and Greisley are come together; but we say they have a caveat to divulge nothing. Yet the world doth guess there is some difficult point that doth require Cottington's coming to the oracle. And withal, we hear, that there is order given for the ships to stay a fortnight; so it should seem matters are not altogether so forward as we expected.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 21, 1623.

A gentleman, one Mr. James Elliot, (as I remember) a servant of the prince, and lately returned from Spain with my Lord Carey, about Thursday, being in our town, reported, that afore his coming away he desired to kiss his highness's hand; and being admitted, desired his highness might not stay long in that place, saying it was a dangerous place to alter a man, and turn him: for himself in a short time had perceived his own weakness, and was almost

[1] Father-in-law.

turned. The prince asked wherein he was turned? He answered, in his religion. "What motive had you?" quoth the prince, "or what hast thou seen that should turn thee?" "Marry," quoth he, "when I was in England, I turned the whole Bible over to find purgatory, and because I could not find it there, I believed there was none. But now I am come into Spain, I have found it here, and that your highness is in it: whence that you may be released and delivered, your highness's servants, who are going to paradise, will offer unto God there our utmost devotions."

This, Dr. Travers told me, who was with the gentleman. Mr. Wren writes, that we have great cause to thank God for the prince's constancy in religion, whose liveliness and courage therein they, his chaplains, do admire, and that as he ever had a worthy conceit of my lord marquis, so he finds him likewise to be such in this respect. I hope all is so indeed, yet not from the authority in his letter; for a man may easily guess what letters they must write, who are awed both there at their writing, and here for delivering. God send our prince home again: for the forenamed Mr. Elliot told, *sub sigillo*, some suspicious passages, as that the prince darest not farther them, by intimation afar off, to express his desire or will to be gone, as fearing to be denied; but passeth all by compliments and such like.

The lord marquis, as is talked, hath had in the Spanish court some check of late, for forgetting himself so far, as to intimate a dislike of the slowness of their despatch: whereupon Olivares was sent to the prince to tell him, that the lord marquis must consider how great a prince the King of Spain was, when he came to speak into his presence.[1]

Mr. Wren hath also this passage: "There is no such matter here as you talk in England, that the marriage should be finished; for there is not yet so much as a match concluded."

[1] Buckingham took advantage of the king's dotage to carry himself, not only with great insolence towards the English ambassador, the Earl of Bristol, but to treat with gross indecorum several illustrious personages of the Spanish court, which ultimately excited both displeasure and remonstrance from the King of Spain. It is impossible for the reader to imagine the foolish and offensive fondness of James for this man, unless he peruse their correspondence during this ill-advised expedition. —See *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. ii.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, June 20, 1623.

Yesterday sennight, (June 12) in the evening came, hither from Spain, Sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Greisley, with news of no marriage yet, nor certainty of any at all, as it seems. One of them brought a private letter unto one, wherein is related, that the prince had on Saturday before, (which was to-morrow shall be three weeks or a month) received a peremptory answer, that the lady might not be married till after Easter next. It was therefore in his highness's choice to stay there till then, and so take her away with him, or return home again. And the next day after, his highness, the second time, had speech with her since the first time, on their Easter on our Palm-Sunday, which is strange wooing. But on Wednesday came the Lord Rochford, with other news, that the marriage, forthwith, is again presented, so that we yield to all that they demand.

Upon the coming of the two former, Cottington and Greisley, the fleet was stayed until answer came from Spain, to letters sent hence on the last Lord's-day, (June 15) at night, by Sir William Crofts. It is true, that there hath been great disorder and miscarriage aboard the fleet, by the popish insolent gentlemen, in so grievous manner interrupting prayers and singing of psalms, that the mariners could scarce be stayed from throwing them overboard to feed haddocks. Yet his majesty hath piously appeased all by forbidding the mass, with all irreverent carriage and interruption of prayers, or singing of psalms, commanding the continuance thereof twice a-day. It is also said the Lord Morley is recalled thence.

On Monday, (June 16) the extraordinary Spanish ambassador came from Dartford, overland, to Greenwich, where, in the presence chamber, he had a banquet; and after that had audience, and delivered his letters, and then came to the Strand, to Exeter House, where the street was full of coaches and people. The next day, he rode to see the new chapel, building at St. James's.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, June 27, 1623.

I have no more time but to wrap up my news.

Mr. Long, but newly appointed bachelor in divinity, was this week created doctor, as *filius nobilis*, with such distaste of the regents, that they hummed when he came in. They say, it was a stolen congregation, and yet he got his grace but by three votes; and the regents have appealed and presented against his creation, as against statute, which hath heretofore been expounded, that by *filius nobilis* is such a one who had either parent honourable. But *valebit factum*, and all will come to nothing, I think.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 4, 1623.

For the Spanish business, things seem still far off. On Saturday, at ten in the forenoon, as our fleet passed by Dover, towards Plymouth, there to re-victual, arrived there a gentleman of the prince's privy chamber from Spain, who said (either in truth or in jest, to content the people) that the prince would be here before the fleet would be in Spain; and wagers are laid here of his return hither this month.

There was, as is said, a commission granted unto the lord duke, Marquis Hamilton, lord treasurer, the earl marshal, the lord chamberlain, and Mr. Secretary Calvert, to treat with the two Spanish ambassadors, as Viscount, a friar, and the archduchess's agent. But, it is said, they excused it, not having power to treat with any besides his majesty. Whereupon, they sent thence post Grimes towards Spain for other instructions and more ample authority. This day sennight was a conference[1] begun, at Sir Humphrey Lynd's, in Sheer Lane, near Temple Bar, where were many present of quality, some of honour. It began between Dr. Featly and Jesuit Fisher, held five hours; but Fisher would not answer one argument. Dr. Featly was to

[1] An account of this conference was published by Dr. Daniel Featly, in 1624, in quarto, under the title of, "The Fisher caught in his own Net."

show where was our Church before Luther; and Fisher was wholly confounded as well as confuted. Dr. White[1] should have followed, to prove the Pope not head of the Church, against Jesuit Sweet; but the Jesuits could not by any means be brought to buckle with him, though before they had given out he durst not dispute with them. It should, by consent, have held to-day again, but, on Wednesday, it was, from his majesty's order, awhile forborne. Sir George Petre came in with the Jesuits to countenance them.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, July 11, 1623.

I have been at Loft's this week, at Sir John Mead's, there to meet Mr. Corbet, the elder, and Sir John Corbet,[2] a new baronet, and his lady, which the mother hath been secretly working a good while, and with much ado, and, in a manner, without her son's knowledge, and now at length against the opposition conspired, to confront the papists, who caused him to be put out of commission.

We talk here much of a toleration, caused by the king to be propounded at council-table, where all voices were against it; and the judges being sent to by the council, gave answer that the king could not do it by the law and privileges of the kingdom; which being related to the king by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he swore bitterly, and asked how he should get his son home again.[3]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 12, 1623.

We are now in the long vacation, and the last term brought forth little or nothing worth remembrance, saving the fining of certain poor carriers, in the Star Chamber, for carrying greater loads than is allowed by the king's proclamation. We have Sir Giles Mompesson here again, and, as it seems, *in statu quo prius;* for he begins to put

[1] Dr. Francis White, Dean of Carlisle.
[2] Of Spronston, in Norfolk; created a baronet, July, 1623.
[3] He should have thought of that before he sent him.

his patents for alehouses, and the like, in execution, because they were not then abrogated and doomed by act of Parliament, when he was driven to so foul a retreat, and had such shameful ballads and pictures made of him. But these are the revolutions of the world; and I would we might never see worse.

The new serjeants have their writs, and prepare already for their great feast in Michaelmas term, having named Sir Thomas Finch for their steward; Sir John Hobart, comptroller; and Mr. Hopton, marshal. I do not well know their number nor their names; but, they say, that in all, old and new, they are five and twenty more than they have been seen or can stand at that bar. Mr. Hoskins is one of this call; and George Croke was much graced by the king, at Greenwich, on Sunday was sevennight, being knighted and made one of his serjeants. Mr. Noy, Thomas Crew, and four or five more, would not accept the favour, and so are left out.

The Countess of Arundel is now upon her return; for she hath sent her forerunners before, three Italian masaras, whereof one is a blackamoor, and a gondola, which I doubt will not so well brook our river, where there is commonly so much wind.

The Spanish ambassador is much delighted in bear-baiting. He was the last week in Paris Garden, where they showed him all the pleasure they could, both with bull, bear, and horse, besides jackanapes, and then turned a white bear into the Thames, where the dogs baited him swimming, which was the best sport of all. The King of Spain hath sent hither five camels and an elephant, which, going through the town this day sevennight, past midnight, could not yet pass unseen.

We had a great tempest of thunder and lightning here on Wednesday, wherein a ship that carries live fowl and other choice provisions for the fleet, had her masts and tackle torn and spoiled; and three tray-makers, a man and two women, about Croydon, struck dead.

Sir Thomas Roe hath taken great pains, and thought he had done a *chef d'œuvre*, in concluding a truce or peace for our merchants with the pirates of Algiers and Tunis;

but he is in danger to be disavowed, and all this labour lost, howsoever it comes about, and we left to the mercy of those miscreants, who have already seven or eight hundred of our able mariners, among whom many gunners and men of best service at sea, who, by this treaty, should have been delivered; and their wives, kindred, and friends do so importune his majesty at all turns, that he is forced sometimes to give them hard usage, both in words and worse.

The king came hither from Windsor on Wednesday; on Thursday, after supper, went to Wanstead, where all the council hereabout are appointed to wait on him to-morrow; and while he was here, there was some secret consultation, which is kept very close.

On Monday, Peter Killigrew arrived out of Spain in nine days. All that can be got out of him is, that the prince is well, and wishes to be at home. The superscription of his packet was, "To the best of fathers and masters." Some say, he hath written to the Duke of Richmond to be a means, with the rest of the council, for his leave, which we are in hopes was sent by Sir William Crofts three weeks since. On Wednesday, came Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the Duke of Buckingham; but what he brought we cannot learn; only it seems to be some sudden alteration, and perhaps to sweeten some distaste. And now, lastly, on Thursday, Sir John Epsley's man is come in seven days, who brings word they are entering into a new treaty that will be soon finished; and that Porter shall come away shortly, laden, forsooth, with articles, and all good conditions.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, July 18, 1623.

On Tuesday evening, from half an hour after five till ten (save there was, between seven and eight, three quarters of an hour intermissions), was the dreadfullest tempest of rain, lightning, and thunder, with terrible cracks, that ever I heard. Much hurt is done by it; some slain; some houses overthrown; one in Garden Lane, by King Street, at Westminster, half the next house to it taken away,

within which sat an old woman a-spinning, who had no hurt, but her wheel broken all to shivers. And the top vane over St. James's Gate, with the prince's arms on it, all writhen strangely, cast down; the lead of the turret it was on all right, and none of the other vanes touched.

This was the night before the great council-day at Theobalds, where seventeen of the council met, going thither little before the tempest; but the Earl of Arundel was absent, being gone to meet his lady, who, in her return from Italy, visited the Queen of Bohemia. They sat from eleven till five, supposed to be about a toleration; or rather not executing the laws against the papists; and what his majesty is to swear unto the next Lord's day to the Spanish ambassador, before the feasting of them. What was done, cannot be heard, only divers of their countenances were noted to seem much dejected when they came forth.

On Wednesday, at the Bermudas Court, Sir Edwin Sandys fell foul upon the Earl of Warwick. The Lord Cavendish seconded Sandys, and the earl told the lord, by his favour, he believed he lied. Hereupon, it is said, they rode out yesterday, and, as it is thought, gone beyond sea to fight.

It is said the prince wrote to the lord duke to be a means to further despatching of the last week's messenger, Mr. Grimes, who should no sooner arrive at Madrid, than his highness would be ready to put foot in stirrup homewards.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 26, 1623.

The judges, before they went their circuit, were admonished by the king to deal favourably with the papists, except they found them turbulent and seditious. The lords lieutenant have no more the naming their deputies in every shire, the king having lately resumed and reserved that point to himself.

The old Countess of Bath[1] died this day fortnight; and,

[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Russell, Earl of Bedford.

two days after, the new earl, her son,[1] married a sister of the Lord St. John, of Bletso. About ten days since, the Earl of Arundel went away in great haste to visit his eldest son, sick of the smallpox, at Ghent, and carried a physician with him.

The last week, the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Cavendish fell so foul at a Virginia, or Bermuda's court, that the lie passed and repassed, and they are got over to try their fortune; yet we do not hear they are met: so that there is hope they may return safe. In the mean time, their ladies forget not their old familiarity, but meet daily, to lament their misfortune. The factions in these two companies are grown so violent, as Guelfs and Gebellines were not more animated one against another; and they seldom meet upon the Exchange, or in the streets, but they brabble and quarrel: so that, if that society be not dissolved the sooner, or cast in a new mould, worse effects may follow than the whole business is worth.

Our old acquaintance, Mr. Pory, is in poor case, and in prison at the Terceras, whither he was driven, by contrary winds, from the north coast of Virginia, where he had been upon some discovery, and upon his arrival was arraigned, and in danger to be hanged for a pirate.

Our East India Company was at a low ebb, but is now somewhat afloat again, by the arrival of three ships, richly laden. But I hear a whispering that the Spanish ambassador hath a meaning to arrest them, upon the business of Ormus.

Those two ships of the king, that went toward Aberdeen, have sent for more help, because the Hollanders are too strong thereabout; and order was once taken, that four more of the fleet about Portsmouth should go for that service; which, if it should go on, I could wish the Dunkirker were fired, by some chance or other, and so an end made of it, rather than such a fire should be kindled among us as would not safely be quenched.

Here was a sore tempest of thunder and lightning the

[1] Edward, sixth Baron Fitzwarine, and second Earl of Bath. His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of Lord St. John; his second, Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Lovet, of Liscombe, in Buckinghamshire. He died in 1636.

15th of this month, that did much harm in divers places, specially about Westminster, where it spoiled and defaced two or three houses; and at St. James's it beat down a piece of a tower, with a clock, melted the bell, and carried away a vane with the prince's arms; and not far off, a gardener was stricken dead, and divers others blasted.

The lords of the council were sent for to Theobalds, the 16th of this month, to be made acquainted with the articles concerning the Spanish match; where, it is said, there was some sticking upon points of religion, specially by the Scottish lords; but it was answered, that it was not now to be disputed what was of convenience, but what was of necessity, the prince being in their hands, and the king's children despoiled of their patrimony, which was not to be recovered but by this means, or by a bloody and uncertain war, and setting all Christendom together by the ears. So that, in effect, this was not so much a matter of council, as a preparative for what they were to do on Sunday, when there was great doing at Whitehall, the Spanish ambassador being to be feasted, and the king took his oath to observe all the articles agreed upon; which were read by Secretary Calvert in Latin, and lasted almost an hour. I have not seen nor heard much of them, but one among the rest, that the infanta is to be allowed twenty-four priests, which are to have, as it were, a bishop over them, and not to be any way subject to our laws; that she is to have the education of her children till they be ten years old; with many other points, concerning her jointure, and favourable toleration toward the Roman Catholics. But I will not omit one thing, told me by three several persons, that saw it; that the ceremonies being ended, and the anthem sung, when the bishop began the prayer for the king, the ambassador's confessor, or Jesuit, that stood by him, within the traverse, slapped on his hat, and so continued all the while, though the king and ambassador were there. The feast was plentiful, and the ambassador as gallant and gaudy as your Venetians; but none of our people made any show, saving Mr. Gage and the Earl of Carlisle, who had a rich suit of black taffeta, with gold pearl. The lord chamberlain was absent, by reason of a

sore fit of the stone, which he hath been troubled with ever since. His brother Montgomery supplied the place. After dinner, all the council, to the number of twenty-nine, I hear, were sworn to see all those articles performed, to the best of their power.

That afternoon arrived the Lord Andover out of Spain, with news, that all was in good forwardness there; that the match was to be published, and she proclaimed Princess of Great Britain on their St. James's day, and the contract solemnized and effected upon ours, with great applause and rejoicing. It is given out that the prince, wearied with so long delay, had packed up, and was upon coming away, when the King of Spain came to him, and so all controversies were accorded between themselves; insomuch, that the king propounded to have all despatched upon the prince's own word and promise for performance of all that was agreed. But it was thought better to have a double string, and not neglect our king's oath; for that the prince might pretend he was not master of himself, being in their power.

Now, the next that was expected is the Lord of Denbigh, who is to bring word when the contract is passed; but I hear that late yesterday came Clarke with one hand, who brings word that the contract is deferred to the six or seven and twentieth of the next month, that they may be certified, and have assurance of the king's promise and oath, which was to be sent away by Sir Francis Cottington on Monday or Tuesday last; but I hear he is not gone yet, the cause of his staying being, that he may see those bills of exchange discharged, to the sum of £16,000, which the prince took up of the ambassador's provision, and which he brought from him. He doth likewise carry a commission to authorise the prince to conclude and consummate the marriage, and another commission for the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Bristol, Sir Walter Aston, and himself, to assist him with their advice and counsel, and to finish whatsoever shall seem wanting and fit to the perfecting of the business; which is now in a fair way, specially if the prince be so far engaged in affection as is reported. And yet, when all is done, I will not believe

but there must go more words to the bargain, though the common speech be we shall have them all here before Michaelmas. I write you the sum of all I hear, that you may settle your judgment hereafter.

Since I begun this letter, I hear the young Lord Maltravers, the Earl of Arundel's son, is dead, and that the Lord Cavendish is stayed in Sussex, near the seaside, and so could not get over.

On Monday, the king began his progress, and knighted Sir Randolph Cranfield, a lame brother of the lord treasurer's, who, of a mean merchant, is become master of the Mint. The king is now about Andover, and means to keep the 5th of August at Salisbury.

Your nephew Carleton, on Monday last, married the Lady Cotton, a fresh widow, at Chiswick, and kept their wedding dinner in a tavern at Putney.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Cambridge, July 29, 1623.

Mr. Don, who came from London last night, tells me, that at the time of the great tempestuous storm on Tuesday, there fell wonderful great hailstones, in two or three several places in Kent, of the bigness, some of them, of tennis balls, as a gentleman affirmed to him, who saw them, but I believe not they were all so big. Some will enlarge great matters. The lords of the council almost all, save two or three, stand stiff against the proposition of a toleration. My Lord of Canterbury affirmed, that he would lose his life rather than ever give consent to it. That the king was angry, and said their obstinacy would make him do worse. I cannot learn what the king swore on Sunday to the Spanish ambassador. Some say, he swore to do his best to procure a disannulling of the law against Papists by act of parliament, some otherwise. Mr. Wren is said to write to the vice-chancellor, that their song in Spain is, "Woe is me, that I am constrained to dwell in Mesech, or have any habitation in the tents of Kedor;" but forbear to write any particular, but intimates that all is not as should be.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, August 29, 1623.

On Wednesday sennight, at Delft, in the English house, the Earls of Essex and Warwick feasted the Queen of Bohemia, whereof her cousin, Duke Christian, of Brunswick, was also present. The queen, next day after, was delivered of her fifth son. She hath sent Sir Francis Nethersole, her secretary, into Spain, to visit the prince, and see how his highness doth.

Dr. Meddus to the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 5, 1623.

Mr. Farnaby, the schoolmaster, who came hence (from Delft) hither this week, said yesterday, in my hearing, that Brunswick's loss was far greater than spoken of; that the duke, sitting at....did continually sigh so, that he was heard all over the room, and greatly exclaimed of his countrymen, the Germans, wishing himself were none; and the queen, at a fright by the pages drawing their swords and striking one another in the boat, as she was going back into the Hague, was delivered about a month before her time.

Worthy Dr. Sutton,[1] of St. Mary Overy's, whom the Papists and priests much hated, and, as was said, formerly practised his death, coming from Newcastle by sea, is said to be cast away in Yarmouth sands; whom as all well affected bewail, so the popelings greatly rejoice at it.

Yesterday came out printed a jesuitical, shameful device, of the birth of their Antichrist, at old Babylon, with teeth; spoke perfectly after the eighth day of his birth; is twice as high as an ordinary man; doth the miracles Christ did; hath many followers, and kills all that will follow him.[2] These popish tricks and practices, I hope,

[1] Thomas Sutton, D.D., a native of Bampton, in Westmoreland, and educated in Queen's College, Oxford. He was at first lecturer of St. Helen's Church, in Abingdon, in Berks, and minister of Cutham, near that town, and at last lecturer of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark. He was drowned 24th August, 1623.—*Wood, Athen. Oxon.*, vol. i., p. 479.

[2] The election of a new Pope.

will rouse us up to bestir ourselves more devoutly and resolutely, as I doubt not but you do at Cambridge; and what our Master Oxford doth, you may perceive by this letter of Dr. Prideaux to myself, as follows:—

"Good Mr. Doctor — It is true, as you write, devotion is more seasonable now, than talking of the Church's miseries. The Papists here and everywhere assault and insult upon our brethren in the ministry. I have proposals every week, from one place or other, to affront their impudence. But God, I trust, will maintain his own cause, and draw good out of their evil. Jesuit Fisher hath been lurking about Oxford, to ensnare such stragglers as discern not his net; but by no means he will be known to any one that is grounded, who much desire to have a bout with him. My comfort is, that this overture of connivancy hath roused up our men to be more resolute and earnest. Popery was no more eagerly preached against than now amongst us by our best men. So that, if there were a toleration, (which God forbid) the popelings would rather lose than gain by it, for their impunity allowing them too lightly.....I trust, should so uncase them, that they should easily [discern] a regular physician from a vaunting mountebank."

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, September 24, 1623.

We had here, four days together, a rumour which much troubled us, though it could not be known whence it rose, as if the prince, having been three days on his journey, were remanded back to Madrid, and that the new Pope had confirmed the dispensation; which was doubtless some Popish rumour. For on Monday, a pursuivant, sent by Mr. Secretary Calvert, to find out the ground or author of it, was with five or six that had spoken of it, and at last it was denied and mistaken.

Dean Hall[1] preached worthily and spoke home last

[1] Joseph Hall, D.D., Dean of Worcester, and afterwards successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich.

Lord's Day, at Theobalds, before his majesty, on this text: "Buy the truth, and sell it not."—Prov., chap. xxiii., ver. 23.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 3, 1623.

It is these two or three days held for an undoubted truth by letters from Sir Francis Nethersole, who came from the prince at St. Andero, written at Paris in his return home, towards the distressed queen that sent him, that the prince came to St. Andero this day three weeks, on Friday, the 12th of September, being exceeding glad that the fleet was come thither, which lay two or three leagues off the shore. But going on board in a shallop, he was in very great danger, the wind being opposite, and rising very high on a sudden, and also being benighted, yet at last (God be thanked!), though with much ado, by the light of a lantern, got safely aboard; but no sooner were all the men got out into the ship, but the shallop by the winds was dashed in pieces against the ship's side.

The Lord's day following, being September 14, the prince aboard feasted the Spanish grandees; but, at their departure, he excused his bringing them ashore, resolving, as he said, not to leave his ship till he came home. Mr. Greisley stays at St. Andero till the wind turn, and he sees the fleet under sail, and then is to post overland, in case the wind might turn again.

Sir Harry Mildmay, master of the Jewel House, was, for a few days, in some question confined to his chamber, and his office sequestered, about some words concerning the lord treasurer; but he is again restored, and all well again, as I hear.

Mr. Dean Hall, on Sunday sennight, was at Theobalds; so, likewise, did Mr. Whiting worthily the last Sunday at Hampton Court: his text, "Remember Lot's wife." But the ill hap was, his majesty came not abroad, whereupon, though many thanked him much, yet some others went expressly and accused him unto the king, whom the Spanish ambassador, as it is said, seconded; they having

been, Wednesday morning, long private with his majesty all alone, the doors on all sides shut. But yet, I hope, he will come off fairly, when his majesty hath heard the sermon read, which yesterday he was to deliver up to my Lord of London, to carry it to the king.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, October 11, 1623.

I shall not need to tell you the prince is come, and at Royston. The news came to our vice-chancellor on Monday forenoon. Our bells rung all that day, and the town made bonfires at night. Tuesday, the bells continued ringing. Every college had a speech, and one dish more at supper, and bonfires and squibs in their courts; the townsmen still continuing to warm their streets in every corner, also, with bonfires, lest they should not be merry when we were. Wednesday, the University assembled in the forenoon to a gratulatory sermon, at St. Mary's; in the afternoon, to a public oration. The close, at night, was with bonfires, drums, guns, fireworks, till past midnight, all the town about.

I can tell you no more yet, for we have not yet received this day's letters from London, and the court will tell us. The prince hath got a [beard], and is cheerful; the marquis, some conceive, not so. We hear nothing of the match at all, but we are sure yet the infanta is not come. How the king and the new come home guests greeted at their meeting, it is not yet public; and it seems it was performed in private. To-morrow, all our doctors, and many besides of our university, go to court, to present our book of verses.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, October 24, 1623.

Dr. Whiting is freed of his confinement, and hopes, at his majesty's coming, to be discharged of his suspension.

Our fleet should have wintered at Portsmouth, with express terms to have been the readier at the spring, to

have gone to fetch the lady infanta. As also letters from Madrid, which I saw, say they were *in consulto* to prepare for her journey at the beginning of March to the seaside, when our fleet should come for her. But before that order came, the fleet was gone from thence, and is now, two days ago, come to Chatham, I believe. Not yet that Spain intends any match, or ever did, nor, I hope, do we now.

As heretofore, our Leigers here from Spain, Taxio Castor, Zaniga, and Gondomar were men of discourse for projection; so now, they having projected, we have now come hither three ambassadors extraordinary already, and a fourth from the archduchess, the Castellane of Antwerp, daily expected. All four of them, as also most of their followers, being men of action and expert for the wars, I much fear their intention is bad; and the rather, because it is affirmed and believed, that the King of Spain's subjects have yielded him the greatest contribution that ever was heard of, even seventy millions of reals, which is above twenty millions of pounds sterling, and is pretended to be for the subduing of the Hollanders, but is doubtless for the subduing and destroying of those they call heretics.

The two "*Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*" were called in before I could get them. It is said they contained foul and untrue matter concerning our sovereign's speech to the lords about his purpose in sending of the prince into Spain, as also of his approving of the Romish religion.

Yesterday, was the sergeant's feast in the Temple Hall, fifteen being called, each paying £600 to the king for it, besides their charges. Sir Francis Finch and Sir John Hobart were stewards. Sir John Jackson, of Lincoln's Inn, should have been one, but died yesterday of the spotted fever (as is said), whereof many die in two or three days' space. The names of some of the new made sergeants are, Mr. Croke, Crew, Davenport, Branston, Byng of Grandchester, and our recorder, Sir Heneage Finch. At night they came to Paul's, where the dean[1] preached upon 1st Tim., chap. i., ver. 8: "We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully."

[1] Sir John Donne.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 11, 1623.

Besides field sports abroad, we have always good company within doors, and such plenty of partridges as I have seldom seen; which is the more to be wondered at, seeing we seek to spoil them in the nest, or rather before, when our curiosity and delicacy is of late proceeded so far that, in the spring time, partridges with eggs is the only dish in fashion.

On Monday, a very foul, rainy day, the prince came by Ware, but stayed not more than to change his coach. He landed at Portsmouth on Sunday, in the afternoon; came that night to the Lord Annan's, by Guildford, and the next morning, before eight o'clock, hither. He landed at York House, whither he sent for the council that attended him at Whitehall; and after dinner went towards Royston, not admitting the Spanish ambassador's unreasonable demand of audience. I have not heard of more demonstrations of public joy than were here, and every where, from the highest to the lowest; such spreading of tables in the streets with all manner of provisions, setting out whole hogsheads of wine and butts of sack, but specially such numbers of bonfires, both here and all along as he went, the marks whereof we found by the way two days afterwards, is almost incredible; besides what was done elsewhere, and all over, insomuch that at Blackheath there was fourteen loads of wood in one fire. And the people were so mad with the excess of joy, that, if they met with any cart laden with wood, they would take out the horses, and set cart and all on fire. A number of other particulars I could set down, too long to relate; but, among all, there being solemn service in Paul's, the singing of a new anthem was specially observed, the 114th Psalm: "When Israel came out of Egypt, and the House of Jacob from the barbarous people." But, above all, the certain condemned prisoners had the best hap, and most cause to rejoice, who, being on their way to Tyburn, were reprieved by the prince coming in the very nick.

I can tell you nothing of their reception at Royston, but

that the king going down to receive them, they met on the stairs; where, the prince and the duke being on their knees, the king fell on their necks, and they all wept. That night, a post was despatched for the Duchess and Countess of Buckingham, and the Lady of Denbigh, to come next day to Royston.

The prince was seventeen days at sea, and in his passage had the fortune to part a fray 'twixt four Dunkirkers and five Hollanders. There is an ambassador come along with him of the house of Mendoza, and we hear of another Spaniard coming from the archduchess, so that it seems they mean to hold a council table here.

Matters are still kept so secret, that we know not what to judge of the match. The king, at his last coming in town, treated alone with the Spanish ambassador more than a whole hour together, nobody being admitted into the room. The prince, at his coming away, bestowed £12,000 on the officers that attended upon him, besides jewels presented to the king, queen, infanta, and other great men and women of the court, to such a value as I cannot easily subscribe to.[1]

The Duke of Buckingham's carriage in all the business is much applauded and commended; and sure, if it were altogether as is reported, it was brave and resolute. The Count Oliveira and he parted but upon indifferent terms; for he only told him that, if ever it were his chance to come where he had to do, he would not fail to requite him. The Earl of Bristol and Spaniards give out, that, if it had not been for his impatience, the marriage had been consummated before Christmas Day.

Sir Francis Cottington is left behind sick, and in a relapse. Howsoever, they have found him faulty, they complain, and had no good opinion of him, so that he is like to be discarded from the prince's service; and Sir Albert Morton is in some hope to succeed him. Tobie Matthew is come home with the prince, and we hear of some encounters 'twixt him and Archy in Spain, wherewith

[1] James had squandered the crown jewels on Buckingham and his son at a most extravagant rate.

he was so much distasted, that once at dinner he was fain to forsake the table.

You have heard of Sir Henry Mildmay's poor carriage in a business touching my lord treasurer, which was so ill handled, that they say he was baffled in it, both backward and forward, which I am the more sorry to hear, for that I hold him a proper, fine gentleman.

Dr. Hall made a neat sermon of late at Theobalds, but Dr. Whiting[1] went further, and dealt more plainly, at Hampton Court, for which he was convented before the council, and in danger to be committed; but he hath passed it over with being suspended from preaching. I send here a bitter rhyme against the Dean of Christ Church,[2] for his flattering verses sent into Spain, which I presume you have seen; if not, they are scant worth the inquiring after.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 25, 1623.

We have here but a sad season, by reason of the continual wet, and as dull a time hitherto, saving that it was somewhat quickened on Thursday, by the sergeants' feast, honoured with the presence of the French, Venetian, and States' ambassadors; with all the council and great men about this town. I have not known so great a call for number; though, for other abilities, they are thought to come short of many, or most that went before them. Sir George Croke, Sir Heneage Finch the recorder, Thomas Crew, Davenport, and Hoskins, are the prime men; the rest of the fifteen being of little note or name. In the forenoon, they went dabbling on foot and bareheaded, save their beavers, to Westminster, in all the rain, and after dinner to Paul's, where the dean[3] preached, though it were six o'clock before they came; and, that all might be suitable, their feast, though otherwise plentiful and mag-

[1] John Whiting, D.D., rector of St. Martin's Vintry, and vicar of Ham, in Essex. See note 1, p. 354.

[2] Dr. Richard Corbet.

[3] Dr. Donne.

nificent, was so disorderly performed, that it was rather a confusion than a feast.

The poet Owen's monument in Paul's begins to serve for a pasquin to any merry or malicious companion that fastens daily some odd rhyme or other foolish paper upon it. And it is doubted there will be some further disgrace to it in time; for it is much maligned, as an honour far beyond the man's merit. Among many other bold rhymes, I send you here one that was thought to be the cause that the lord keeper's name was blotted out the last week from under the epitaph, *parva teli statua est*, which you had from me almost a year since.

Tobie Matthew was knighted at Royston, not long since; but for what service God knows. I hear Sir Edward Herbert, our ambassador in France, is nothing gracious there; and that they make means to have him removed.

We talk of two men-of-war of Holland cast away: the one a very good ship, on the coast of Sussex, that had but 30 men saved out of 120 that were in her; the other near Harwich, with less loss. On Tuesday, a ship of good burden, bound for the Straits, was fired by mischance, or rather negligence, in the Thames, and burnt down to the water.

Here is speech of a general pardon to come forth shortly, such as was at the coronation; which should seem to be the forerunner of a parliament, though others interpret it otherwise. The making of a number of men barons is likewise spoken of, to raise money.

It was appointed, that the ships that brought back the prince should stay at Portsmouth, and be new rigged against the spring. But, before the order came, they were come away to the Downs, where, they say, two or three of them are preparing to carry over both our dukes, to christen the Queen of Bohemia's young son; but some doubt is made of the Duke of Buckingham's going.

The king is expected here about Thursday, and the Tuesday after, the Duke of Buckingham feasts the Spanish ambassadors at York House; which is thought to be done rather *pro formâ* than *ex animo*. It is said, the king

himself will be there, which is more honour than any of our ambassadors, or the prince himself, could receive in Spain; so jealous are they of their state and gravity. But sure, if there were no wiser than myself, I could wish that we might deal with such supercilious people *lege talionis*, and mete to them in their own measure.

Our courtiers, and others, that were in Spain, begin now to open their mouths, and speak liberally of the coarse usage and entertainment, where they found nothing but penury and proud beggary, besides all other discourtesy; insomuch, that even the Romish Catholics complain of Gondomar, who was their idol here, that he used them as bad as the rest. And this journey hath wrought one unexpected effect, that whereas it was thought the Spaniards and we should piece and grow together, it seems we are generally more disjointed and further asunder in affections than ever. Besides the good it hath done in religion, by laying open their gross ignorance and superstition, not only in their public and ordinary practice, but even in those that pretend, and would seem learned. And this event might be added to those other examples of Plutarch, *de utilitate capiendâ ex inimicis.*

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, Wednesday, October 29, 1623.

The last Lord's day, in the afternoon, at the French ambassador's house, at or close to Hunsdon House, in the Blackfriars, there preached, after vespers, a priest of great esteem amongst the papists, who had been twice a Protestant, his name being Drury, but went by the name of Bedford. The priest, as is said, then inveighing against us, and wondering God showed not some fearful judgment upon us; even then the floor wherein they stood, being three stories high, fell down, the weight whereof broke the next floor below it, being the confession-room; and it is like had also broken the third, but that it was arched. In the forenoon, there had been 700 persons at mass; but now, at this time, but about 400 of several qualities, English and Irish, of which 20 were priests. Of these, 94

are known to be slain; besides some secretly carried away; and many very sore hurt, bruised; legs, arms, shoulders, and backs, broken. Amongst the dead were fifteen of note and rank, eight priests, some ladies, as Webb, Hutton, &c. The preacher had his brains dashed out, and his bowels crushed out. The day of this accident is remarkable in a double respect, both because it was their day for electing priests (perhaps to signify their kingdom is near the end), and also, being their 5th of November, according to the Romish calendar, to put the living of them in mind that, as on our 5th of November, they would have blown up and overwhelmed our whole state, so now, on their 5th of November, some of themselves are overwhelmed in exprobation, both of the intended fact, and their falsehood, in discharging it from being theirs, but a practice of our state, as Matthew Kellison does.

For the manner: the great main beam of sound oak broke in the midst, to show it was God's own hand (especially having borne the weight in the same forenoon of not much less than double the number), and not any hand of man; though Dr. Price, a popish physician, stuck not falsely to say, that the Puritans of Blackfriars had done it, by unpinning thereof. The roof and sides stand still fair.

There were many above 30 carried to the Spanish ambassador's, and there buried: the rest were buried in the two courts of Hunsdon House—47 in one pit, and 16 or more in another pit; and a priest crossed and besprinkled them, pronouncing them martyrs and saints in Heaven, yet no dirges made for them. The ambassador provide stately crosses to set over them, if he be suffered. Some of them that escaped, lamented they were not martyrs with the rest. Others, who came of curiosity, say, they will come no more to any such place. Yea, and some papists say, they will be no longer papists, but Protestants. God grant both of us to make good use thereof!

It is said, there be about 40 in the Star Chamber, for staying in and about the city, contrary to his majesty's proclamation. And here is also speech that, after these

are censured, there should be pardons granted for all penal matters, to them that will pay for them.

A Relation of the fall of the room at Blackfriars, in which Father Drury the jesuit was preaching. Anno 1623, *October* 26, *stylo vet., November* 5, *stylo novo.*

On Sunday, about three of the clock in the afternoon, in a large garret, being the third and uppermost story of a high edifice of stone and brick, over the entrance into the French ambassador's house, in Blackfriars, London, a multitude of people were assembled to hear one Drury, a Romish priest, preach in the English tongue.

The garret, where they were assembled, had a passage leading into a close, by the outward gate of the French ambassador's house, but without that gate. By this outward passage, men and women had recourse to the priest, day after day. It had, also, another passage to it, out of the French ambassador's withdrawing chamber, next to his bedchamber. These two passages met in one before they came into the garret. There was but one floor into the garret. The garret, at the door, was about twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long. At the farthest end from the door, there was a new partition of slit deal, set up to make a private room therein for one of the priests. There were, also, adjoining to this garret, other rooms, wherein sundry priests lodged.

The people being assembled, as aforesaid, Drury the priest came into the garret, with a surplice girt about him, and a stripe of scarlet lying over both his shoulders. One with a book and an hourglass followed him. About the midst of the garret, at the side over against the door, was set a chair and a table. Drury, coming to the chair, kneeled down with show of some private devotion, which was not long. Then rising up, he stood with his face towards the people, crossed himself on the breast, and the man which followed him, giving the book into his hand, he opened it and said, that the gospel for the day was in the latter end of the xviiith of St. Matthew, and so read

the parable of forgiving debts, Matthew, c. xviii., v. 2, 3, which being read, he set down in the chair, and put upon his head a red cap, having a white one under it, turned over the border of it. He read no audible prayer before sermon, nor after the division of it. Some of the better sort of hearers had chairs and stools to sit on; many women sat on the floor; most of the people stood very thick together.

After he had spoken something of the occasion of the parable, and propounded three points to be handled—1, the debt which we owe unto God; 2, God's mercy in forgiving it; 3, man's unmercifulness unto his brother—as he was speaking of God's mercy, the middle and main summer, whereupon a great part of the floor of that garret rested, brake asunder about the midst of it, and suddenly the summer, with the floor and the people thereon, fell down. The violence of the fall was so great, as it broke the summer, whereupon the floor of the chamber directly under this garret rested; so as that floor also fell, together with the forenamed floor of the garret, and the people upon a third floor of the French ambassador's forementioned withdrawing chamber, which was supported with arches of stone, and where they lay. The distance from the floor whence they fell, to the floor where they lay, was about twenty feet in depth. The garret was longer than the chamber under it ten feet. No more of the garret than was directly over the chamber fell, which was about twenty feet square. They that stood on that end, where the foremention partition was, fell not, but breaking a hole through the wall into the next room, escaped. The summer of the uppermost floor was about a foot square. In the place where that summer broke, there were on each side a mortise-hole, whereunto the tenons of two beams were put over against one another, so as there was but three inches of timber betwixt those two mortise-holes; and the timber in that place was knotty, which made it more suddenly snap asunder. The summer of the floor of the chamber immediately under the garret was more massy: it was fourteen inches square. It broke nearer to an end than the other summer did.

There was neither mortise-hole nor knot in the place where it broke. It was rent farther and more shivered in breaking than the other was. No part of the roof immediately over the garret fell, nor any part of the wall, but only the two floors.

Of the people that fell, some escaped without any harm at all; others were bruised and wounded, but not mortally; others came out with life, but died either a few hours or a few days after. We hear many that died of the hurt they received by that fall, though they went from the place with life. The greatest number of them that fell died in the very place, being either mortally wounded or bruised. Of those that were taken out stark dead, many were conveyed away that very night, for on Sunday night, when they fell, there were told ninety-one dead corpses; but on the next day morning, when the coroner and his inquest came thither, there could be found no more than sixty-three. Among these were two Romish priests, Drury and Rigeard. It is supposed that Rigeard was in the room immediately under the garret, for he was seen to walk there a little before the sermon began, and he was found among the dead, yet was he not observed to be at the sermon. Whether any company were in that middle chamber with Rigeard or no, I cannot yet learn. The Lady Webb, the Lady Blackstone's daughter, and Mrs. Udall, being slain, they were carried to the Spanish ambassador's house (viz., Ely House, in Holborn), and there buried in the back courtyard. The Lady Blackstone herself was sorely hurt: whether she be living or dead I know not. Captain Summer's wife and her waiting-woman were buried in Blackfriars, according to the order of the Church of England: she in the vault under the church, her woman in the churchyard. In the forecourt-yard of the French ambassador's house was digged a great pit, eighteen foot long and twelve foot broad, into which were cast forty-four corpses, most of them wrapped up in a sheet, but many of them with their head, face, breast, thighs, and legs, all bare, but only their shirt upon their body. Porters, labourers, and poor women, brought them to the grave without any bier or coffin, one taking a

corpse by the hands, and by the legs. There was another pit made in the garden of the French ambassador's house, wherein other corpses were buried. Mr. Straker, a Scot, and Mr. Bartholomew Bavin, were buried in St. Bride's parish. There were buried in St. Andrew's, in Holborn, viz.—Robert Sutton, John Lochom, and Abigail Halford.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 8, 1623.

I send you to-day, besides the Corranto, a double Novella to the ordinary intelligence; the other a special and particular narration of the lamentable accident at Blackfriars. I have seen two or three letters written this week, since Tuesday, all constantly affirming, that at the time the floor fell, the priest being to speak of God's mercy in forbearing the debts of sinners, took us heretics as an example, whose horrible blasphemies and persecutions sufficiently might argue the long suffering of God. And here it seems, by way of amplification, fell into an invective against us, not a whit forbearing to revile where God, he thought, forebore to punish. But the particular I send you, speaks no word of it, or his sermon discourse, but only says he was about the second point, speaking of God's mercy, when the floor fell. And indeed the author of that relation, as he is very accurate in every circumstance, so seems to affect an historical ingenuity in relating all things, so as not any way, by any speech or passage, to censure the accident, or to give judgment one way or other, so much as by intimation. Only by his dating the time in the old and new style, he seems to intimate something to be marked, if it were not added by another. I know not the author: it was sent me from Mr. Chaderton, whom since I spoke not with.

I saw a letter this week from Madrid, dated September 30, which tells, that the great joy and acclamations in Spain at our prince's coming, proceeded not from a delight they took in so rare an adventure of a prince of his quality, but of hope, they conceived, of his coming to offer himself to be made a Catholic. But having caused many

solemn processions, and other such public ceremonies, to win and allure him to a liking, when they saw no alteration at all in him or his, yea, and that the English scarce carried themselves reverently at these sights, nor in their churches could conceal the derision of their hearts, the case was much altered, and they much troubled; so that whereas at his coming all things were ready, save the coming dispensation, which was also looked for; yet they fell again into new delays, out of new scruples and questions, to the prince's no small discontent, who was very eager of a contract and despatch, and very impatient at these new delays; till at length the junto of divines coming to agreement, the marriage was declared. After which the prince had often access to the infanta, but always in public, and the King of Spain present. Nevertheless, because through the death of one Pope, and sickness of another, the dispensation came not—it was no contract; neither (saith mine author) did his highness seem to desire it. Only the King of Spain at the parting took an oath to some matrimonial capitulations, at which [the prince] seemed well satisfied.

The author, in the beginning of his letter, said, that some things he would relate, others but point at, and some only intimate, having not, as he said, that freedom to write, which his friend might, with more security and liberty, inquire of those who returned with the prince. Now what intimations this first eagerness and impatience of the prince, but, after his often access to the infanta, a contrary coldness, to be content with further delays, you may try whether you can espy it. I read that letter once over, after the first time, to see where the intimation might lie, but could find none but what I have related, where the author is likewise very quick, only speaking, and no more.

He tells also, that my Lord Digby yet treats, but very closely, having often access to the infanta; that Sir Francis Cottington is recovered, not only of his sickness but of a relapse; that there is a junto appointed to consult about the infanta's affairs; and, saith mine author, we hope all will be made ready for her coming away at the spring.

The letter, by the compliments, should be written to one of some place, and it is very contrived for words, manner, and beauty. He tells, that my Lord Marquis Buckingham and Olivares parted very heartily, and is something long in the particulars. He tells, that the prince gave the queen the greatest crown pearl in the world.

The king, we say, came from Royston to Theobalds on Thursday night.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 14, 1623.

On Wednesday[1] evening last, in Broad Street, began a terrible fire in Sir William Cockaine's[2] house, amongst his hemp and flax, which he, as is said, not suffering help at the first to come in, in a few hours consumed down to the ground his whole house and three more, and occasioned the ruining of about sixteen others. The loss is estimated at least £30,000 or £40,000, or more. Much more hurt was feared, the wind being so high, and east, but that it turned north only till the vigour was passed. Some helpers are burned, some killed, some hurt.

Mr. Camden died on Sunday[3] last, and on Monday next shall his funerals be here at Westminster.[4]

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 15, 1623.

There is a book of the Blackfriars accident, entitled the "Fatal Vespers," which is affirmed to have been penned by a Catholic, and for want of license was at first called in. When I read it, it seemed strange to me that a Catholic should make so full narration; yea, to mention some things, which, if he had left out, he could not have been blamed, as not being necessary to a full narration—as that it was November 5, new style; that the preacher was inveighing against Protestants. I am told there is another book since it, which discovers him, but I have not seen it.

[1] November 12. See "Stowe's General Chronicle of England, continued by Edmund Howes," p. 1035. Edit. Lond., 1631.
[2] Lord mayor of London in 1619. [3] November 9, at Chislehurst, in Kent.
[4] He was buried there November 18.

I understand, the strangest thing in the fall is accounted the breaking of the second floor, whereupon the upper floor being broken into halves, and the second floor forcing them, they both turned over, just as the two parts of a larking net, and so overwhelmed those which till then were upon the floor, and not under it.

On Wednesday, between nine and ten at night, began a lamentable fire at London, at Sir William Cockaine's house, at the back side of Gresham College. When my friend took horse at the Bull, by Bishopsgate, at two o'clock on Thursday afternoon, it was still burning, though mastered. All Sir William Cockaine's warehouses, infinitely stored and rich, utterly consumed, and nothing, in a manner, saved; and some thirty houses more, many of them of the richest merchants in the city. The blame is laid upon Sir William Cockaine, who, when the fire began, rudely forbid and shut out those who came to help, thinking by those of his own house to have mastered the fire, and saved his goods from filching hands, till all was undone, and no man able to come near. The people make judgment of God upon him, for undoing the city, as they say; but others are burnt, as well as he.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, November 21, 1623.

There hath been with me often the last week and some of this, a Dutch doctor of law, once a *concilius* to the Prince Frederick, as the Germans call it. He was commended to Dr. Meddus by a noble counsellor (as he calls him) of the Prince Palatine, at the Hague, and by him, with like testimony, directed to Dr. Chaderton and myself to show him convenient favour in the University, which he came to visit. He told me he had been twice employed from his master to Bethelem Gabor, before the loss of Prague; that, in that time, he had thrice seen him receive the communion after the Calvinist's form.

I talked much with him about his master; our opinion of his want of courage, and other imputations. He stuck not to tell me, that we in England had some set on work

on purpose to disparage him, but were cowards, &c.; and he told me some such things of letters and other passages, which I dare not let this paper know. I may tell you hereafter what conceits the Germans have; for I got much out of him, if he told me all true, whereof I doubt.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, November 21, 1623.

On Tuesday last, at night, my Lord Duke of Buckingham feasted the king, the prince, and the Spanish ambassadors, at York House, where it is said there were 3000 dishes of meat....in which, they say, the duke and prince themselves were. They were up till three o'clock in the morning, at which time his majesty went to bed there.

The prince, whilst he was in Spain, was so well entertained by the king and his confessor, that they both called him heretic to his face, which he bravely disproved, and being granted to see a church in Madrid, though he entered bareheaded, yet, because he would not bow down to the host, where they said Christ was, they forced him again out of the church, and if he had made the lesser haste back, they would have thrust him out by head and shoulders. This and much more the prince told Dean White[1] on Sunday night, as he since told me.

On the same Saturday, as also again on Monday, the dean was again with the king, about his book,[2] which he is to set forth; the Bishop of St. David's[3] being present, who, as also the Bishop of Winchester,[4] had perused it over, and not altered one word. But the king, as he was turning over the leaves, by chance espied the word Idolatry, which he by all means wanted to have put out, but the dean would not. The king said it should; the dean still persisted, until the Bishop of St. David's humbly besought his majesty it might stand; and so it doth. And, if no new impediments come in the way, we shall have the book ere long.

[1] Dr. Francis White, Dean of Carlisle.
[2] His reply to Jesuit Fisher's answer to certain questions propounded by King James, printed at London in 1624, fol.
[3] Dr. Laud. [4] Dr. Andrews.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 6, 1623.

If Sir George Goring be with you, as we say he is, for he went hence this day sevennight, you are sufficiently informed of all that is here current, for he brings it from the well-head, whereas we are driven to draw our intelligence by bye-channels, which many times alter both colour and taste. Yet he could not tell you of the arrival of Rivas, the Spanish courier; for he came not till Sunday in the afternoon, with news that the Queen of Spain is brought a-bed of a daughter; for which their ambassadors here made bonfires that night, with other demonstrations of joy, as shooting off muskets and showing of lights at the top of their house and at the windows. But the French ambassador passed it over with a bare bonfire before his door the next day. Since the late mishap in the Blackfriars, he is removed, and taken the Lord Mandeville's house, in Aldersgate Street, where he admits no more of our Romish Catholics to his mass or matins, nor will have no more to do with them: for, do them what favour or good office he can, yet still he says he finds them all Spanish.

Rivas brought likewise some private letters, that say the proxy or procuration left with the Lord Bristol is delivered; and that the espousals were to be performed presently, and had been then done but for this accident of the queen's delivery. This breeds much discourse: but it is not believed, for many reasons and circumstances that make it improbable.

The Spanish ambassadors went to the king, at Theobalds, on Monday; but returned, as it seems, not so well satisfied as they were wont to be, which hath been observed in them in two or three former audiences, specially since Mendoza, who went away about a fortnight since, nor Mexia, that went hence this day sevennight, could obtain to be delivered or landed at Dunkirk, which they much insisted upon, and the latter spoke to the king himself, who told him he should be set safely at Calais, an indifferent place,

not far off; and that he had no reason to give further distastes to his old friends, the Hollanders, nor enter into new disputes with them. But a day or two before his departure, he urged it again by Secretary Conway, who, bringing back the same answer, Van Male, the agent, told him it was not the king's answer, but his own. Whereto, the secretary replying little or nothing but scorn, Mexia said he was sorry he should relate to his lady, the archduchess, that the king was afraid to displease the Hollanders. Whereto the secretary rejoined, that, in a just cause, they should find his master neither afraid to displease the Hollanders, nor those who called themselves their masters. I hear that Mexia hath been very peremptory, insomuch, that, being referred to the council in some business, he told them he found how they were bent; but, for their own part, they were ready to entertain friendship or otherwise. They made divers motions to have private audience of his majesty, and that the Duke of Buckingham should not be present. But, for aught I hear, they were fain to make their objections to his face. One thing, among the rest, they complain much of, that my Lord of Buckingham used the principal Walloons of Mexia's train with such extraordinary courtesy and favour, soliciting them to discontentment, and telling them he marvelled how so brave a nation could endure the Spanish tyranny; but, if they would help themselves, they should not want other help. These things go abroad; but how truly, I know not.

Our papists of Cheshire and Lancashire being called upon for certain payments and debts to the king, for recusancy, had recourse to the Spanish ambassador, as their mediator, upon whose motion the king gave order those payments should be respited till our Lady-day, when his pleasure should be further known. But I hear those gentlemen are sent for by pursuivants, to answer their doings.

There is a crew or knot of such people discovered, who, under colour of good fellowship, have made an association, and taken certain oaths and orders devised among themselves; specially to be true and faithful to the society, and conceal one another's secrets, but mixed with a number

of other ridiculous toys, to disguise the matter; as having a prince whom they call Ottoman; wearing of blue or yellow ribbons in their hats or elsewhere; having certain nicknames, as *Tityre-tu*, as such like, for their several fraternities; and many other odd conceits, the bottom whereof is not yet discovered, though divers of them have been examined, and some committed, as one of the Windsor's, and a few others. Most of them are young gentlemen who use to flock to taverns, thirty or forty in a company. This combination began first in the Low Countries, in the Lord Vaux's regiment, and hath since spread itself here to the number of eight score already known. What mischief may lurk under the mask, God knows. But sure they are confident, and presumed much of themselves to carry it so openly. Whether upon this occasion or no I know not, but there is order taken that the pensioners shall be better appointed and better mounted; and when they ride with the king, to be furnished with a pair of French pistols.

We long to hear out of Spain how matters stand there; for howsoever the balance seems to incline from them, yet the former earnestness, and some late speeches, that it should be a match in spite of all the devils in hell, and all the puritans in England, hold us in suspense, though they say a parliament is assuredly agreed upon 'twixt this and Easter.

How the Lord Digby hath carried himself in the business I cannot learn; but sure the Duke of Buckingham is much animated against him, insomuch that I know where he said to one of that family that, though he wished him well, yet he loved him the worse for the name sake, which grew odious to him. And yet the king, since the prince's return, knighted young Sir Everard[1] Digby, son to him that was a prime man in the powder treason. And about the same time, Sir Thomas Crew, the new sergeant, of a quite contrary faction.

The last week, the Lord of Buckingham invited himself to Mr. Freeman's,[2] one of the new sheriffs, who, because his house is little, and the prince expected, made the en-

[1] Probably Kenelm Digby, knighted at Hinchinbroke, October 28.
[2] Ralph Freeman.

tertainment at Merchant Tailors' Hall, where the provision was great, but the company no more, in a manner, than all my lord's kindred hereabout, and most of the Walloons, whom he feasted likewise at the Duchess of Richmond's, and the Lord of Carlisle's, with dancing and revelling, in all these places. Yet some superstitious people like not so well of this meeting at Merchant Tailors' Hall, though it be by mere chance, as a place of late ominous. Some whispering there is of threatenings and plotting attempts upon his person by the papist faction, as the only enemy and hinderer of their so much desired match; but whether it be so indeed, or given out for some other end, is made a question. But the truth is that priests and Jesuits swarm here extraordinarily, and are grown so bold, that if any of quality, men or women, fall sick, and have any friends or kindred that way affected, under that colour they will find access to them and use persuasion, which, whether it prevail or no, if the party die, they will find means, though they be past sense, to anoint and cross them, with such other ceremonies; and then give out they were theirs, and won by them, as I have known in divers, that pertained no way to them.

Here is a contagious, spotted, or purple fever, that reigns much, which, together with the smallpox, hath taken away many of good sort, as well as meaner people; as, Sir Henry Baker, Sir Edward Stafford, usher of the prince's chamber, Sir Thomas Jermyn's eldest son, and divers others. Yet many escape, as the Dean of Paul's is like to do, though he were in great danger.

On Wednesday night, the Countess of Warwick was carried out of Holborn, to be buried in Essex, by more than two hundred horse, all with torches, and above three score coaches, among whom were both the duchess's; and the Duchess of Richmond's train was carried up by Mrs. Anne West, and the young lady Killegrew.

Francis Mitchell, that was unknighted the last parliament, should have been at the Star Chamber the last day of the term, for complaining of their proceedings there, and scandalizing the Lord Coke, and Sir Dudley Digges, in a petition to the king. But a seasonable sickness, that

took him a day or two before in the Fleet, reprieved him for that time.

The lord marshal is in hand with such another business, of degrading a baronet, one Harris, of Shropshire, for baseness, and other bad qualities. But the fellow stands so well to the tackle, both by pleading, and bringing an injunction out of the Chancery, that after three days' hearing in the Lord Marshal's High Court, they are no further than when they began, and the cause deferred to another day.

It was doubted, this week, the great seal should have been taken from the lord keeper, and given to the Lord Mandeville, or lord president, who is ready to receive it; but it should seem the lord keeper is like to hold out his three years, if not longer.

Sir Henry Wotton is come, and went yesterday to Theobalds, though the king be looked for here this day. Sir Isaac Wake was contracted, the last week, to his long-beloved mistress, with a very handsome and pithy collation, made by his brother-in-law, Mr. Wilkinson; though they mean to be married very shortly, for the license is ready.

I do hear, for certain, Sir William Becher is provost of Eton; and that the grant passed the seal yesterday. I know not whether I wrote the decease of the Lady Wallop; or that the Lady Stukeley, with tending her son, took the infection so strongly that she was at the last cast, but is now upon recovery; though she be pitifully peppered, and in danger to be shrewdly disfigured.

I send you here the inscription of a pillar that is to be set up in the place where the King of Spain and our prince parted; wherein the Duke of Buckingham is quite forgotten, as if he had been none of the company.

The masque, at York House, were not worth the sending, but that it is so free from flattery.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 20, 1623.

Sir Horace Vere is come, but I have not seen him, nor heard any thing by him, nor of him, more than that there

was a sorrowful meeting. Yet the next day after his arrival, the wooing, that had been so long adoing, came to conclusion, and Sir Isaac married his mistress, and lay there that night; but yesterday, removed to a house he hath taken, not far off, in St. Bartholomew's.

The last of November, Sir Edward Howard, a younger son of Lord Suffolk's, married a daughter of Sir John Butler's. The marriage was kept at York House, and made chiefly upon hopeful conditions; the Lord of Buckingham professing that he will not only be an uncle but a father unto them. The prince came thither after supper, and lodged there.

The Countess of Sussex died the last week; and her greatest care in leaving the world was, that her lord should not marry his concubine, that was one Shute's widow, and sister to the Lady Meauty's, that was the Lady Cornwallis. But neither the Lord of Holderness, nor the Lord of Canterbury's diligence in sending of pursuivants, could prevent it; for the next day after his lady's decease they were married. And, though he could make her none of the greatest or richest, yet she is become an indifferent common countess. But the strangest match in mine opinion is, that Allen the player hath lately married a young daughter of the Dean of Paul's;[1] which, I doubt, will diminish his charity and devotion towards his two hospitals.

Peter Killegrew came out of Spain the last week, having been but four and twenty days in going and coming; which, the short days and ill weather considered, is thought somewhat extraordinary diligence. Yet Greisley, that was despatched after him, overtook him in less than three days. They both relate that they came in good time; for the match was in great forwardness, and ready to be solemnized; for the scaffolds and other public preparations were set up and in order, so that their coming was taken for a great affront, as if it had been *à point nommé* to forbid the bans. It is said to be very unwelcome news to the Lord of Bristol, who, it seems, hath set up his rest upon it. He is daily decried more and more;

[1] His first wife, Joan, died on the 28th of the preceding June.

and here goes up and down a kind of relation made some seven years since, when he went extraordinary ambassador, that discovers him and his vanity more than I could easily have believed of a man esteemed of his wit and judgment. And how many disgraces and indignities he swallowed, to bring his own ends about, without regard to his master's, his country's, or his own honour. It is thought to be written by Sir Robert Phillips, who imparted the substance of it, by letters, to the last Bishop of Winchester, Montague, and he to the king. If it had been believed, it might have saved a great deal of labour and cost, which hath been not so well spent, but for the experience we have had by it, which cannot be too dear. And fairly, if things fall out as we expect and hope, God's providence is wonderful over us, to turn that to our good which, in all appearance, was so contrary both to our religion and state. The mention of this business brings to my mind a discourse I have heard of, written by Fulgentio, of Venice, about this match, and sent to some ambassador or friend of his in France. Some that have seen it, commend it; and perhaps you may find means to come by it.

The king went back to Theobalds on Thursday, and will not return till Christmas-eve. He came hither this day sevennight, half against his will, and sat in council more than once.

We have a whispering that the junto, or commission for foreign affairs, shall be somewhat abridged in number; for, though they are sworn to secrecy, yet some things are found to be vented and come abroad, that were better kept close. The appearing of Sir Robert Mansell, that had been long under hatches, the thronging of sea captains to the court, the sending of Sir Robert Anstruther into Denmark, but specially the Lord Kensington into France, under colour of a private compliment, make us suspect there is somewhat a-brewing; and withal, the papists hanging down their heads, that were so brag of late, that the Lord Arundel of Wardour, a busybody, made means to the king that he might be their agent in court, as those of the religion have theirs in France.

There was some unkindness of late between the lord treasurer and the Lord Arran, or Murray, about a small matter of impost, for two tun of wine.

We talk of some alterations toward, but we commonly outrun the constable, and mint more news than the Tower doth money. As that the Lord Kelly is going for Scotland; that the Lord Kensington shall have his place, though the Lord of Anglesey pretend firmly for it; that young Montague, the lord president's eldest son, shall be captain of the guard, though it went by voices Sir George Goring should have the appointment; that Sir George Blundell aims to be lieutenant of the Tower, though one Telwell, some time a mercer, then a page of the bed-chamber, and now a knight, is likest to carry it. Other removes are spoken of, which, peradventure, may turn out all alike.

I may not forget that the Lady Hatton is said to have bought Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange, of the Lord of Salisbury, for £6000, and means to make it her dwelling house. I presume but the upper part, for the nether can be put to no better use than to make £320 a-year rent, as it doth already, and more may do hereafter.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 3, 1623-4.

The king came to town on Christmas-eve, and tarries, with much ado, till Thursday next. Most of the time hath been spent in daily consultations, which resolved, in the end, on a parliament to begin the 11th of February; and Sir Randolph Crew is in speech to be speaker. The writs are ready to be set forth; but I heard yesterday there is a stay made till further order.

Before the parliament was fully agreed, Sir Edward Coke was sent for to the council-table, and told the king had a special use of his services in a commission into Ireland; so that he was willed to prepare himself to be gone within forty days. Being surprised with this sudden alarm, and pausing awhile, the council required his answer, which

he gave in few words, that he came not hither to answer, but to obey; and, within two days after, went into Norfolk to settle his affairs. Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir William Jones, and one Auditor Phillips, are joined with him in the same commission. It was since said, that the prince had laboured for his stay, and to save him from so hard a journey, in respect of his years, being three score and fourteen, and of some other construction that must be made of this employment. But, for aught I hear, he must go.

The great expectation we had of alterations of places and officers seems to be quite vanished, or at least suspended, till after the parliament.

Dr. Whiting, that was silenced for a sermon at court, is restored to his preaching, and with good words. We talk of a proclamation, likewise, shortly to come forth against priests and jesuits. I pray God it be not too late; though better late than never; which makes the papists hang down their heads, and look for no good for their turn this parliament. And yet, they say, the match is not quite off; for Greisley went away two days since, with a new proxy; but, either they know not, or conceal their knowledge, that it is not to be performed till she is on ship-board, which God knows when it will be, whether ever or never. For the Spaniards are said to take the late delay as a great affront, and say, they will hardly come in danger of such another. The ambassador shows much passion, both of grief and anger; insomuch, that Inojosa complains greatly of both the favourites, who, for their own humours or interests, have marred so fair an alliance; and was heard to wish that they had either of them a stake in their breech; and in a bravado, the other day, wished the Earl of Rutland to commend him to his son-in-law, and tell him they run both one course, which was, to hinder the match. But the best sign of breach is, that I hear Greisley carried order to recall his lord and master, as well for other reasons, as that it seems Sir Walter Aston and he run contrary ways, and send several intelligences, without acquainting one another of their doings.

The Lord Kensington is yet deferred for going into France; yet the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Carlisle, and he, had had long conferences divers times with the French ambassador, of late, which some construe to be rather to arouse the Spaniard, than for any serious or substantial treaty.

On Tuesday last, the Earl of Oxford, after twenty months' imprisonment, was released out of the Tower. The Lord Kensington carried the warrant, and conveyed him thence, after six o'clock at night, to the Earl of Exeter's, where he lodged, and on New-year's day married his daughter, the Lady Diana Cecill, with a portion of £30,000. That day, after dinner, he went to the court, and was conducted to his majesty's presence by the Duke of Buckingham, where he found gracious acceptance, with good words and good counsel. The honour of which business the Duke of Buckingham takes to himself, in good reason; for, having undertaken it, he found it more difficult than he expected; which bred a whispering that his favour and fortune declined, it being observed that he had prevailed in little or nothing since his coming out of Spain.

I wrote that Sir William Becher was Provost of Eton; and, though I had it from a good hand that I presumed I might build upon, yet it seems the grant passed no further than the signet, or privy seal; and he is yet where he was.

At this instant, Diestan brings me your letter of the 21st of the last month; and yet I can add nothing more than that, two nights ago, a small vessel, that came from Dunkirk, and lay at Ratcliffe, was surprised by sixteen conscionable sailors, or thieves, that took away only a case of taffetas, a bale of black Naples silk, and a pack of linen cloth, of a great quantity of such like goods that were in her; and when some would have had more, the major part urged it was enough; and so went their way, and are not yet heard of.

Here is much practising against the masque on Twelfth-night, and many meetings at noblemen's houses in the afternoons; as yesterday, the prince, with the rest of his retinue, were at the Lord of Bridgewater's, where they

had a great banquet, and afterwards went home to supper, as the usual manner is.

The writs for the parliament are sent away this day; and I hear the Lord Coke's journey is yet in question.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 17, 1623-4.

The masque for Twelfth-night was put off, by reason of the king's indisposition, as was pretended; but the true cause is thought to be the competition of the French and Spanish ambassadors, which could not be accommodated in presence. And whichsoever of them were absent, it would sound to his disgrace: and so much the Spanish ambassador did intimate, upon notice that the French was first invited, and forbore not to say, that, among many others, they should take this for the most notorious affront.

The king hath been of late so troubled with pain and weakness in his feet, that he looked little abroad; but the council sat, in a manner, continually. Yet he went away on Tuesday last to Theobalds; on Thursday, to Royston; and means this day to be at Newmarket, though his physicians, and most about him, were against the journey. But he is so desirous to see certain new hawks fly, that he could not be stayed.

Here is a Monsieur come from the French king, with a present of fifteen or sixteen cast of hawks, some ten or twelve horses, and as many setting dogs. He made his entry very magnificently, with all his retinue in very good order, and with store of torch-lights, which gave the more lustre to all this show, and to his own bravery, being, indeed, very rich and gallant. His hawks fly at anything—kites, crows, pies, or whatsoever comes in the way. He is to tarry till he have instructed and inured our men to this kind of falconry, which had not need be long, being so costly; for he and his train stand the king in five and twenty or thirty pounds a day. I have forgotten his name, though he be a baron. But the best reputation he hath is to be a good falconer.

On Sunday, the Venetian ambassador had audience; the

French, on Monday; and the Spaniards were with the king the morning before he went, and that so privately, that none were admitted till toward the latter end; and, after a full hour's audience and more, the prince was called, and, soon after him, the Duke of Buckingham. What passed is not known; but they were observed to come out very sad; and presently the duke went to his bed; so that the duke went not with the king, as he meant to have done, his carriage being called back, but tarried till the next afternoon, when they both went together. In two or three days, the whole of the business suffered great alterations, and the proverb, that Tottenham is turned French, quite changed into Spanish. For they are said to promise *monts et merveilles*, and make so many fair offers, that we know not how to refuse them, they come so fast upon us: at first, to send the infanta hither in April, upon their own charge, with half the dowry in hand, and sufficient security for the rest; to leave matters of religion to the king's own disposition; to restore what they have in the Palatinate into the king's hands; and to join with him, both by treaty or arms, to recover the rest; with other advantageous conditions, which do stagger some of the council that were thought to stand fast, that the sway seems to go on that side. And surely, unless God set-to his helping hand, we are like to be carried away by these syrens' songs, and suffer shipwreck in calm and fair weather. But *spero meliora*, and I have some reason that I dare not brag of. I send here a copy of a letter I lighted on out of Spain, which will give some light how matters go there, and, to accompany it, there is another worth the money, if you have not seen it already.

We shall soon see how matters will pass, if the parliament hold: they have chosen their knights and burgesses already in some places; as in Kent, where Sir Nicholas Tufton and Sir Dudley Digges thinking to carry it without contradiction, when it came to the election, Tufton was chosen; but when it came to Digges, Sir Edwin Sandys being named, though absent, carried it, either in truth or number of voices, or by partiality of the sheriff,

as is pretended. But if this be a trick of Sandys, as is suspected, to save himself from going into Ireland, it will not serve his turn; for, being employed by the king, and already in commission, under the great seal, he could not be elected, as is said. Besides, the manner being so surreptitious, and the cry of his party, that Tufton was a papist and Digges a royalist, is very offensive, and is thought will incense the king more toward him; which needs not.

His colleague, Sir Edward Coke, is likewise chosen for two or three places, as Coventry, Windsor, and I know not where else: but he prepares himself to be gone, and took his leave of the king on Monday, and kissed his hand. The poor man sets a good face on it, and makes show to go cheerfully; but, in secret, tells his friends he never expects to see them again. Indeed, it is thought a hard journey for a man more than threescore and fourteen years old, and that never was at sea.

Sir Isaac Wake is to go ambassador for Venice, with a large commission for all Italy, and to keep agents in Piedmont, Switzerland, (the residence to be half the year at Berne, the other half at Zurich) among the Grisons, and elsewhere, as he shall find fit for the king's service; and to have particular allowance for them, besides the ordinary entertainment of £4 per diem, and £400 a-year extraordinary; so as he is to be a kind of ambassador paramount, or like an archbishop, with so many suffrages. But all this is to be presumed, if we fall off from Spain. But *hic labor hoc opus est.* For the King of Spain hath written to his minister, by all means, without regard of honour or dishonour, or any other punctilio, great or small, to continue the negociation, and prohibited all Spain over, upon great penalty, not to speak or discourse disadvantageously of the match, or to say it is broken off. And yet, underhand, they spread scandalous reports, both in Rome and all Italy, of the prince, to disable him; of which practice of theirs notice is come thence, from good hands.

Sir Robert Shirley, with his Persian wife, is come hither again, out of the clouds, I think; for I cannot learn where he hath been all this while. But he requires audience, in

quality of an ambassador, which, I hear, is granted him at Newmarket, because he lies not far off, at his sister's, the Lady Crofton's, which is the best retreat and means he hath here.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 22, 1623-4.

This term brought forth no greater matters than the censuring of one Moore, an attorney, for speaking very lewdly and scandalously of Queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII. His judgment was to lose both his ears, imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and such like punishments; which was executed accordingly this week in Cheapside, where he laughed all the while.

The last day of term, Sir Francis Englefield was fined likewise, in the Star Chamber, at £3000, for touching the lord keeper with bribery. It was thought somewhat hard that such a cause should be despatched by bill and answer, in the compass of so short a term, and on the accusation of one witness, Sir Miles Sandys (for in effect it was no more); Sir John Bennet being already disabled as no competent witness, and withal coming under the colour of kindness to visit him in the Fleet, and so to draw him to some intemperance of speech.

Here runs up and down a proclamation, come out of Ireland, against Jesuits and priests, to avoid that kingdom within forty days, upon pain and peril may fall thereon. It is well said, if it may be as well done. I would have sent it if I had met with a convenient messenger; as likewise Dr. Donne's "Devotions in his Sickness," newly come abroad, wherein are many curious and dainty conceits not for common capacities, but surely full of piety and good feeling.

The parliament that should have begun the 12th of this month was put off till the 16th; and then, by reason of the Duke of Richmond's death, till the 19th. He died of an apoplexy in his bed on Monday morning. His lady takes it extremely passionately, cut off her hair that day, with divers other demonstrations of extraordinary grief;

as she had good cause, as well in respect of the loss of such a lord, as for that she foresees the end of her reign.

The king went to the parliament on Thursday, with greater show and pomp than I have seen to my remembrance. I was so much and so many ways invited, that I could not refuse to go; and, to say the truth, I went specially to see the prince, who indeed is grown a fine gentleman, and beyond all expectation I had of him when I saw him last, which was not these seven years; and, indeed, I think he never looked nor became himself better in all his life. The king made a very gracious and plausible speech, confessed he had been deluded in the treaty of the match; but referring it now wholly to their consideration, whether it should go forward or no, according as they should see cause, upon the prince's and Duke of Buckingham's relation. It may be we shall have it in print, and, therefore, I will leave the rest to the press, or to some other of your friends that can set it down better. Dr. Cary, Bishop of Exeter, preached at Westminster at the opening of the parliaments; and Dr. Hall[1] yesterday at Paul's, to the convocation. The show of the nobility was fair. The youngest baron was Sir —— Gray, that married Sir John Wentworth's daughter, who came newly out of the mint, his patent being scant dry. He was made at the suit of the Duke of Richmond, for his brother, the Earl of March; but when it came to the payment, Secretary Conway had £4000 of the money, till he had found another for himself, and then to repay it. The Earls of Northumberland, Hertford, the Lord Say, and the Lord of St. Alban's, were not called; or, if they had writs *pro formâ*, they were wished to forbear and absent themselves. Sir Thomas Crew, the serjeant, is chosen speaker, and is to be presented this day to the king. Sir Edward Coke is of the house, and the first day set them straight in a business wherein they were going awry.

David Cecil,[2] your kinsman, presumptive heir to the earldom of Exeter, shall marry Mrs. Smith, the Countess

[1] Dr. Joseph Hall.

[2] Son and heir of Sir Richard Cecil, brother to the Earl of Exeter, whom David Cecil succeeded in the title in 1640.

of Exeter's daughter, with £3000 present portion, and £200 a-year till she pays £2000 more.

Sir Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain, Esq.

Hague, February 24, 1623-4.

We have had here a winter war (as you will have heard) not much unlike our English boy's play of bidding of base; for when Count Henry Vomdenberg having crossed the Yssell into the Velnure, he retired to his passage, and there stopt. When his excellency understood of his making a halt, he stayed likewise, without going further. So as they did one another no great harm.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 20, 1623-4.

I hear not yet of the book you mention, so that I cannot impart it to Sir Isaac Wake, who doth so ply the parliament, that he is hard to be found. And it stands him upon, for his employment is at the stake to stand or fall as matters pass there, though he have received his letters and instructions, and lords it handsomely already.

I would fain tell you some good tidings of the parliament in general, but, in truth, I know not what to judge, for there be so many Spanish *pavanes* backward and forward, so many heats and colds, as are rather likely to tire than keep them in breath. Yet I think there was never parliament better affected, from the highest to the lowest, to the good of king and kingdom. But divers speeches and answers from the king have had need of interpretations and explanations, which nevertheless are not so satisfactory, but that scruples remain; and they are so wary and cautious on all sides, as if they were to treat with enemies, and in danger to be overreached.[1] Which makes me

[1] James addressed his parliament in a marvellous humble key, affirming (most falsely, by the way) that in the affair of the marriage with the infanta he had never promised anything in favour of the Catholics, and deprecating any freedom of speech touching himself or his prerogative. The House, however, by this time, had acquired a pretty accurate knowledge of his character, and treated him accordingly.

admire the wisdom or the fortune of the former time, when all things went fairly on in parliaments, without jealousy or diffidence. Where the fault is now I know not, but they are very suspicious; for having made large offers for the maintenance of the war, if the king would declare himself, he is not willing to come to that point, but, striking out *war*, inserts, for the grand business in hand, which is subject to divers interpretations. Neither will they be led away by Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir Robert Phillips, for they have so little credit among them, that, though they speak well and to the purpose sometimes, yet it is not so well taken at their hands, for still they suspect them to be favourites, and hold them for undertakers. Among some few others, Sir John Saville is still the same man.

Here is much muttering of the coming of Padre Maestro, who passed through Paris a week since, and comes directly from Rome, where the Pope is said to find great fault with the Spaniard for managing his business no better when the prince was there, and would have the match go on again by all means; in which regard he will be content to dispense with his dispensation, in taking away the clauses that the Roman Catholics should have a public church in London and elsewhere, and wheresoever the infanta is to abide. Other offers are spoken of, which the Spaniards say are such, and so large, as cannot be refused.

The Spanish ambassadors presently, upon any show of distraction or differences in these businesses, frequent the streets from the one end of the town to the other, with all their pomp, and, as it were, in triumph, and under colour of visitations to other ambassadors and friends. And how truly I know not, but it is said that many letters pass continually 'twixt them and the court, by mediation of somebody near about the king, which are thought to hinder or retard many good resolutions. The marquis is held a cunning negociator, though he have little or no nose; and so much maligned, that there is a current speech, that he hath lost somewhat else of more importance since his coming hither, and that made him more man: and they

are so confident and precise in it, that they name the very time of his circumcision to be the next day after Twelfth-day.

The Countess of Oliveira hath lately sent the prince a large present of provisions, and forty-eight gammons of bacon; divers vessels of great olives, as many of olives without stones; a great quantity of capers and caperoons; many frails or tepnots of special figs, many sweet lemons, and three hundred weight of dried or undried melicotons; great quantity of other suckets and sweetmeats, besides forty-eight melons. All which, in three carts, was conveyed into the riding-place or house at St. James', two days ago. The prince never vouchsafed to see it, but, rewarding the messenger, left it all to the disposing of Sir Francis Cottington. He never misses a day at the parliament, and is so careful to have all things go well, that, if any good fall, we shall owe it to his care and solicitation, and to the general good will and approbation of his virtuous disposition, as being noted free from any vicious or scandalous inclination; which makes him every day more gracious, and his actions to seem more graceful than was at first expected. And, in truth, his journey into Spain hath improved him so much, that it is a received opinion he concealed himself before.

I understand, since this morning, that the Lower House hath agreed to pay three subsidies and three fifteenths, 'twixt this and November, if the king will declare himself, and that they may have the managing of their own finances. But how the king will brook any such restriction is the question. Mr. Benjamin Redyard was the first that broke the ice, and being followed by thirty-eight others to the same purpose, that it should be employed to assist and support the Hollanders, to furnish out the navy, to provide for the security of Ireland, to make magazines of arms, powder, and other provisions, and, collaterally, for the recovery of the Palatinate. Sir George Chaworth was of a single and singular opinion, to yield the king two subsidies and four fifteenths for his own use, without troubling ourselves with the Low Countries, that had subsisted more than forty years of themselves, and were like to hold

out as much more, for aught he saw. This offer is to be presented to the king to-morrow; and withal both Houses are resolved, by the mouth of the lord keeper, to clear the Duke of Buckingham of the imputations laid on him by the Spanish ambassadors, in their complaint to the king, that he had traduced and spoken scandalously of their master, in the grand committee's conference.

I wrote, that Davy Cecil should marry the Lady Exeter's daughter; but that match was marred by the Lady Hatton, at the very upshot.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, May 13, 1624.

Sir Isaac Wake went away on Tuesday, in very fair equipage, without his lady. He spares her no cost, but lays it on with great ostentation, as well in liveries, flaunting feathers, and the like, as in number of followers, among whom are six footmen, three or four pages, and gentlemen not a few. If he keep on this course, I doubt he will leave his lady little better than he found her, if he should chance to go before her. I had not been with him a long while, till the day before he went, upon some slight usage, which he excused, with many protestations and oaths, which he hath at commandment, and with divers messages, and two visits at my lodgings, though by good hap he lighted not on me; so that I was content to be persuaded not to fall off too unmannerly.

On Saturday, came forth two proclamations: one, that all Jesuits and seminary priests should avoid the realm by the 14th of June: the other, for restraint of warrants, for deer, in the king's parks, forests, and chaces, by reason there hath been a great mortality, or murrain, amongst them this last winter. There is no question but, howsoever the one speed, the other shall be truly and duly observed.

The Duke of Buckingham hath been sick about this sevennight, of a fever, the jaundice, and I know not what else; so that, besides other physic, he hath been thrice let blood at least. Yet the world thinks he is more sick in

mind than body, and that he declines apace. The king was with him on Saturday night, from Greenwich, and, as I hear, dealt earnestly to reconcile him and the Earl of Bristol, of whom we hear little since his coming, but that he was willed to keep his house, but had otherwise gracious speeches from his majesty.[1] He carries himself boldly; and, it is said, there is a commission appointed to examine his business; for into the parliament it must not come, because the prince hath showed himself a party.

The Lower House is much troubled about the disposing of their subsidies, the rather for that the clergy have absolutely granted the king four subsidies, to be paid in three years: which, being contrary to the usual form, which was to go together in the same manner, breeds distaste: and withal the nominating and placing of the council of war, by whose warrant the money should be issued, is not without dispute; as first, whether Viscount Grandison should precede the Lord Craven, and the Lord Brooke, which is overruled by the English barons, because they will take no notice of foreign dignities: and withal it was said that the weight of an English baron was £10,000, whereas an Irish viscount was valued, and might be had for £1500. Then Sir Edward Cecil, as son to an earl, carried it from Secretary Conway, though a councillor, and from Sir Horace Vere, his senior in service; as likewise Sir Robert Mansell from Colonel Ogle, in regard he had been a general at sea.

The king came this way to Greenwich, on Ascension-eve, and made a speech to the Lords in favour of the lord treasurer, as is conceived; though some say it was so ambiguous, that it might receive a contrary construction, for it began with mercy, and ended with judgment; and, among other things, said, this was the second example had been seen of a long time, of a man of his quality called in question. But in truth, without a great deal of favour, he could not have exercised the parliament now a whole month; and howsoever the speech may be diversely con-

[1] Buckingham and Prince Charles deceived the House by fallacious accounts of the proceedings at Madrid; and Lord Bristol, whose statements would have been very different, was kept out of the way, by command.

strued, yet it is apparent the king took off a great deal from him, and laid it upon himself. He had many petitions to the Higher House, and was heard divers times in person, wherein he still carried himself rather audaciously than boldly, and so insolently and impudently in outfacing manifest truths, as if he fought rather to irritate than mollify his judges: as on Tuesday last he made petition for further time in respect to sickness: but the House, not willing to protract the business any further, sent two earls, two bishops, and two barons, with a physician or two, to see in what way he was, and to protest to him that, if he came not that afternoon to finish what he had to say, they would proceed to sentence. Whereupon, growing impatient, he said they dealt rigorously and unchristianly with him; that having been baited all the day before by two mastiffs, meaning Sir Randolph Crew, and the attorney,[1] who were appointed to charge him, would not give him leave to re-collect his spirits; and so coming at two o'clock held them till seven, with such saucy and malapert behaviour and language, that, had it not been for the prince, who interceded, they had sent him presently to the Tower. But this morning he had his final sentence pronounced before the Lower House, by the lord keeper, to be prisoner in the Tower, during the king's pleasure; to lose all his offices, and be made incapable of bearing any in the commonwealth; to pay £50,000; not to come within the verge of the court, nor ever to sit in parliament during his life; which is in a manner the same censure passed on the Lord of St. Albans.

It is marvelled they proceeded no further to degrade him upon so many just reasons; but it seems he had great friends, and that not *gratis*, in the bedchamber. But seeing they have failed to crush him low enough when they might, he may live to be a pestilent instrument, and to crush some of them hereafter; specially if Brett, his brother-in-law, should come in request, as there is some whispering; and a match 'twixt him and the Duchess of Richmond, who, it is thought, would do any thing to be the prime courtier again.

[1] Sir Thomas Coventry.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 5, 1624.

Sir Isaac Wake went away in Whitsun-week; and had so fair a passage to Bolougne, that some that accompanied him there to dinner came back to supper at Dover that night. There is great nearness and dearness 'twixt him and Count Mansfield, who, I hear, hath given him a coach with six horses; and they converse with extraordinary freedom and familiarity. He hath left his lady behind, who tells me she is to follow in August, but pretends such a tenderness of health and disposition, that she cannot allow herself less than ten weeks to reach Turin.

Our parliament ended on Saturday with the passing of three or four and thirty acts, though divers were stopped that were much desired. The parting were with no more contentment than needed on either side. The king spared them not a bit for undertaking more than belonged to them in many matters; and for answer to their grievances, which were presented in two very long and tedious scrolls, he said, that having perused them, he thanked God with all his heart, they were no worse. He gave them thanks for their care and charge toward his children; but withal told them in a sort that they had given him nothing. And this was the course of his whole speech, to pay them in such coin.

Though he passed the Bill for the sale of the Lord of Middlesex's lands, toward the payment of his debts, and raising of his fine, yet he said he would review their sentence, and confirm it, as he saw cause; wherein he made good what he insinuated in a speech he had made in his behalf, that in such cases the nether House were but as informers, the Lords as the jury, and himself the judge;[1] giving them likewise to understand that he took it not well, nor would endure it hereafter, that they should meddle with his servants, from the highest in place to the lowest skull in the kitchen. But, if they had aught against any, they should complain to him, and he would see it redressed according to right.

[1] This is extremely characteristic of the British Solomon.

The Lord of Middlesex was set at liberty, out of the Tower, on Tuesday, and continues yet at Chelsea. Some say he is to be confined to one of his houses in Sussex or Hertfordshire. But there goes a voice that he is in possibility, or rather probability, to be sworn a gentleman of the bedchamber, and then the world is well mended. It is given out (how truly I know not) that his delivery out of the Tower stood him in £6000; and that he gave great sums to keep off this tempest, if it might have been.

Here is much canvassing about the making of captains and colonels for these new forces that are to be raised to assist the Low Countries. Sunday last was appointed, and then put off till Tuesday; when they, flocking to Theobalds with great expectation, the king would not vouchsafe to see any of them, nor once look out of his chamber till they were all gone. But word was sent they should know his pleasure 'twixt this and Sunday. The prime competitors are the Earls of Oxford, Essex, and Southampton. The fourth place rests between the Lord Willoughby, the Earl Morton,[1] a Scottishman, and Sir John Borlase. It hath seldom been seen that men of that rank and privy councillors should hunt after such mean places, in respect of the countenance our ancient nobility was wont to carry. But, it is answered, they do it to raise the companies of voluntaries by their credit, which I doubt will hardly stretch to furnish 6000 men, without pressing; for our people apprehend too much the hardships and misery of soldiers in these times.

And now, in the very nick, comes news how barbarously the Hollanders have dealt with our men in the East Indies, in cutting off ten of our principal factors' heads, after they had tortured them, upon colour of a plot they had, to surprise their fort of Amboyne, which, whether true or false, they need not to have used them so rigorously, but either have kept or sent them home in chains, with their confessions and process. The rest of the English there have sent a protest against this manner of proceeding, which doth dishearten their friends, and those that otherwise

[1] William, eighth earl; Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. He died in 1648.

wish them well, that cannot speak nor hear of this, their insolence, without much indignation.

The king went, on Sunday, towards evening, to Highgate, and lay at the Earl of Arundel's, to hunt a stag early the next morning at St. John's Wood.

The Lord of Buckingham is at New Hall, whither he went to avoid the importunity of visits, that would give him no rest. I do not hear but that he is reasonable well, though the papists give out malicious reports that he should be crazed in his brain. But I have learned by them that know that there was no such matter; but that the suspicion grew by reason of his often letting blood. Only they confess he hath a spent body, and not likely to hold out long, if he do not tend his health very diligently.

There be commissioners appointed for the Earl of Bristol's business; but I cannot name them, nor when, nor where they are to meet. He carries himself very confidently, they say, and speaks big; but, by all I have heard, I cannot conceive how he can clear himself of concealing or conniving at that all the world saw.

The Spanish ambassador, Inojosa, prepares to be gone on Wednesday, by order from the king, I hear; and that, without any audience or solemn taking of leave at court.

This week, they had news of the arrival of the West Indian fleet (perchance before it be come), wherewith they are all so overjoyed that, besides other demonstrations, they stripped themselves of their working-day clothes, and put on all their best array.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, June 19, 1624.

The term is come to an end; but my suit in Chancery[1] is not ended, though I have done my utmost, both by myself and by friends. The fair shows and proceeding in the beginning promised a more speedy success; but, as I have ever had (though but in expectation) no great opinion of our law, so now, by practice and experience of these

[1] By the death of a brother, Mr. Chamberlain had succeeded to some property, and, as often followed at this period, a great deal of litigation.

dilatory courses, I am the more confirmed to think it one of the greatest grievances of our commonwealth; and, as things are carried, it is become rather a protection for cozening and bad debtors, than any relief for the honest subject; insomuch, that few or none make any payment without suit or constraint, which is commonly so tedious and chargeable, that a man were better to take half before he begin. And tenants are come to the same pass; so that a man can make no assurance to himself of what he hath, or when he shall have it. Surely, things are grown much out of order within these four or five years over that they were wont to be, whatsoever should be the reason, which some impute to want of money; but that will soon be seen, for here hath been more gold and silver coined within these four months, than hath been in fourteen years before, and still there comes great plenty both out of Spain and Germany. Some thought the high rate of interest to be a great cause of the decay; and therefore the parliament hath taken order that no interest be taken above eight in the hundred; but it is a question whether that course will do good or harm. If these subsidies that are now in hand come roundly off, and be readily paid, we shall guess how the world will go hereafter.

The Earl of Middlesex was crept in, I know not how, into the commission of the subsidy, which some of the lords misliking, the prince informed the king of it, who blotted him out with his own hand. Two days after, he wrote to the king, that if he had no present employment for him, he desired he might kiss his majesty's hand, and retire himself to his house in Essex. The king sent him word, by the same messenger, that he was too hasty; for that he had not yet had time to overlook his sentence; but, by his forwardness, it seemed he had forgotten he was sentenced.

The Duke of Buckingham came to the court on Wednesday night, where he was very welcome, and well entertained. His long stay made the world begin to suspect that all was not well. They say he looks ill, and hath quite lost his complexion. On Thursday, he went to York House, where he takes great delight in his building.

Yesterday, the Lord of Canterbury came hither to him, though he had not been abroad a good while before.

It is thought the Earl of Bristol shall come to his answer now the duke is come. He hath good friends, and stands upon high terms, and would not take the liberty was given him to go home to his house in the country.

Here is speech of a certain Italian that is under command, who says he was dealt withal by the Spanish ambassador to poison the Duke of Buckingham. How the matter will fall out, we shall see hereafter. In the mean time, the Spaniard is going away malcontent, that he cannot have audience, which he sought to procure by all the means he could devise; but specially that he is not allowed one of the king's ships to transport him, but is sent away in a merchant's ship, bound for Spain, which is to land at Calais or Boulogne.

Two days since, Woodford, the Lord of Carlisle's secretary, arrived out of France. What he brings, I do not certainly hear; but I never hoped well of the business[1] since I heard a cardinal was the prime commissioner. They dandled the Lord of Kensington at first with much compliment; but it seems they mean to work upon us to the uttermost, or give us an affront. Howsoever matters should have been handled, methinks it might have been foreseen not to stumble twice at the same stone.

Our colonels are named, and their officers and captains appointed to their hands. I doubt not but you have the list of them before this time; whereby you may perceive what partiality hath been used, when some such fresh-water soldiers are preferred to old servitors, and men of experience sent empty away. Whereat many take great indignation; and one among the rest, whose name I have forgotten, so impatiently, that he hath cut his own throat. But, among all the rest, it is much marvelled that Sir John Burrough,[2] who deserved so well, should be so quite forgotten or neglected, as to have no manner of advancement. But this is *fortuna della guerra*, which, for all

[1] A projected marriage between Prince Charles and Henrietta Maria.
[2] A military officer of considerable reputation.

that, is not so altogether guided by fortune, but that expert men have a great advantage over new soldiers.

Here be two ships, the Elizabeth and the Exchange, newly arrived from the East Indies, with tidings of the loss of the Whale, with two or three hundred bales of silk, and other rich commodities, not far from Surat. They bring, likewise, a fresh cry against the tyranny and injustice of the Hollanders towards our men lately murthered or executed by them there. The Lady Wyat, daughter, as I take it, to Sir Samuel Sandys, is returned from Virginia, great with child, and Mrs. Percy in her company.

I hear, the Marquis Inojosa had news yesterday of the death of his only son; which is the greatest disaster among the rest of his misfortunes, which seldom come single. Besides, he is in great care of his person, seeing he cannot get the king's protection for his passage, and says he will purchase it of the States' ambassador here, before his going, for fear of falling into their hands at sea.

I send here certain *leges conviviales* of Ben Jonson, for a fair room or chamber, lately built at the tavern, or sign of the Devil and St. Dunstan, by Temple Bar. They be reasonably good, and not improper for such a place.

The lords of the council sat this day, at Guildhall, about the subsidy, and dined with the lord mayor. This is the king's birthday, which he keeps at Wanstead, and will tarry there till Wednesday. He went a-hunting early this morning, with the Countess of Buckingham and her daughter Denbigh, on horseback.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 1, 1624.

The Marquis Inojosa and Padre Maestro were packed away in a merchant ship to Calais; but I hear the States were dealt withal, not to offer them any affront in their passage, and they have been since met at Dunkirk, in their way toward Brussels. There was a diamond of £2500 prepared for him; but, upon better advice, he was sent empty away.

Somebody is come out of Spain with no pleasing news;

and, they say, brought back the prince's letter to the infanta, unopened. Our Spanish merchants have been called once or twice before the council, and admonished to look to themselves how they adventured thither. For, howsoever their goods be their own, yet the ships and ordnance belong to the State. Though I think gain be sweet, and the Spaniard, to allure them, gives them all fair usage of late, and hath dispensed with his *pragmatica* against our woollen commodities, yet I think our men will be more wary hereafter.

The 1st of this month, the drums began to beat to raise men for our new colonels, and the cry went, "All gentlemen and other voluntaries that will serve the States'-General against the King of Spain, and the archduchess, under command of Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, and lord high chamberlain of England, repair to such a place," &c. I heard this myself, the first day, and it was much and generally applauded; but the next day, and since, the style is altered, and no more mention made of Spain, or archduchess; but only to serve the States of the Low Countries in their wars.

You have reason to doubt how our new colonels will agree there, seeing they have their differences here already. For the Earl of Southampton pretends precedence, as having been a general of horse; and the Lord Willoughby then will challenge it of him, as having been a general in chief. How these questions are, or will be compounded, I hear not.

In the mean time, here is great expedition used to raise money, and make ready payment; insomuch that, since Monday sevennight, the council have sat thrice at Guildhall, about the subsidies; and at the first sitting, the lord keeper, among other persuasions to advance the payments, told them, that for any man to disable himself, or disguise his wealth, was to sin against the Holy Ghost, and as the sin of Ananias and Saphira. But yet it was scant received as Catholic doctrine; and, for all the diligence that can be used, it is doubted the rates will come short of former times, so general is the decay over all the land, as well as in this town. Yet some good supply will

be found, if that be true I heard yesterday, that writs are going out against recusants, for all their arrearages; which yet, methinks, should not be so, as long as we are in treaty about the French match.

The Lord of Kensington arrived thence the 21st of the last month, with fair conditions, as the report goes; specially that they stand not so strictly upon points of religion, but only liberty for the lady herself, and such servants as she shall bring with her, or must necessarily be about her person. And we talk of a league, offensive and defensive, against whomsoever. If this be true, it is much otherwise than was given out at first.

The French lieger here went away this day sevennight, upon four days' warning at most. He made account to send for his wife, and had hired another house adjoining his own, for fear of being straitened. But he was thought to be too much Jesuited to be a friend or furtherer of this match. One Monsieur De Esfiat, newly made a marquis, is already landed, and looked for here this day, and is to be lodged at Suffolk House, near Whitehall. But whether he be extraordinary for a time, or to continue here, I cannot learn.

The king had a touch of the gout on Tuesday last, but went on Thursday to Oatlands, and is this day to remove to Windsor, where it is expected we should have some alteration of officers before the progress, which is to begin about a fortnight hence, though some make question whether it will hold at all, and give out that the king hath a meeting at Dover.

The lord chief justice's[1] mouth watered awhile after the treasurership, and deferred his circuit, but is gone at last. Sir Robert Naunton is in speech to be master of the wards, and, they say, *nemo dat largius*, which was not his old wont. But sure it were pity such places should be given *au plus offrant et au dernier enchérisseur*.

The Earl of Middlesex is said to begin to understand himself, and to see where he is, being commanded to remove from Chelsea to his house in Sussex, and, for aught we know, to pay all his fine. His brother, likewise, Sir

[1] Sir James Lee.

Randolph Cranfield, is put by his place of master of the Mint, which hath been as gainful a place to him as to any man within our memory.

The Mary Rose, a ship of the king's, is making ready for Spain, to fetch the jewels redelivered to our ambassador.

Upon the death of Beaumont,[1] Dallington,[2] a servant of the prince, is to be made master of Sutton's Hospital.

Here is talk of three bishops lately dead, Carlisle,[3] Worcester,[4] and Llandaff[5].

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, July 24, 1624.

Presently, upon the receipt of yours of the 17th of this month, I went this morning with the letter directed to Mr. Maurice Abbot, who read it not till he might meet with some of his assistants, but told me a long narration of that business,[6] whereof he says you have a copy; whereby it appears how improbable or how impossible it is that our men should attempt any such matter as they are accused of. Once the case is much commiserated by all sorts of people, and hath so much alienated our affections, that we cry out mainly for revenge of such injustice and indignity. And the king takes it so to heart, that he speaks somewhat exuberantly; and I could wish he would say less, so he would do more. For my part, I shot my bolt at first, that, if they were no wiser than I, we should stay or arrest the first Indian ship that comes in our way, and hang up upon Dover Cliffs as many as we should find faulty, or actors in this business, and thus dispute the matter afterwards. For there is no other course to be held with such manner of men, as neither regard law, nor justice, nor any other respect of equity or humanity; but only make gain their god; which is a character I have heard long ago, before these businesses begun, set upon them by some that knew them well. And it is to no purpose to urge the State for redress, seeing they are a main

[1] Francis Beaumont, Esq.
[2] Sir Robert Dallington.
[3] Dr. Richard Melbourne.
[4] Dr. John Thornborough.
[5] Dr. Theophilus Field.
[6] The massacre at Amboyne.

part of themselves, and of their means; but rather make ourselves amends out of their East Indian Company. When the matter was opened at the council-table, they were so moved, that I assure you some of them shed tears; and, if some notable satisfaction be not given, I doubt the sore will rankle till it grow incurable.

I have not seen nor scant heard of your nephew this fortnight, more than that he is either about the court, or at his brother's, in Cambridgeshire; but he could tell me, when I saw him last, that your leave would not be granted till toward winter; and I could easily guess at the reason, lest you should be importunate for some of these vacant places, which pass not now so ordinary for desert or long service, as for ready money; and you would wonder as well as I, if you heard of some pretenders for the highest places.

In hope of your coming, I put off my usual progress to Ware Park, and the rather withal, for that the Lady Tonston goes shortly to the lying down of both her daughters in Huntingdonshire. If you had come, you had been like to have met with good melons. I never knew them so early. The king had some three weeks since; and I lighted on one this day fortnight, and yesterday, and special good ones, which shows that they grow familiar to our climate, and that in seasonable years we shall have plenty.

The king began his progress the 17th of this month. The French ambassador, Monsieur d'Esfiat, hath been feasted at Windsor, Wanstead, at New Hall, by the Lord of Buckingham, at Theobalds; and now Sir Thomas Edmondes is to entertain him at his own house, to conduct him to the Earl of Warwick's, and divers other places I remember not, till he meet the king at Burleigh, my Lord of Buckingham's house, in Rutlandshire; from thence to the Earl of Rutland's, at Beauvoir Castle, where, after this perambulation, he takes his leave to be gone.

The Lord of Kensington goes back this next week, and carries, they say, a new title with him of Earl of Holland.

It is thought the French match is like to stick at the old stumblingblock of toleration.

The Lord of Bristol hath leave to go where he list, and no more to be said to him till the return of the progress. I doubt not but you heard how Arthur Brett presented himself on the sudden in Waltham Forest, and laid hand on the king's bridle, or stirrup, as others say; whereat the king was much offended, and, spurring away, commanded the Earl of Warwick to forbid him from coming any more in his presence; and withal send word, that the Earl of Middlesex should remove out of the verge, according to his sentence. His lady hath continually solicited at court, and followed to Royston, but, for aught I can learn, prevails little; as likewise the Lady of Bristol hath been a long and sedulous suitor to as little purpose; yet the prince himself brought her to the king, as the Lord of Buckingham hath done his cousin of Middlesex, more than once. Brett was yesternight, by a warrant from the attorney-general, committed to the Fleet, without any cause expressed.

There was a list of fifty captains to be named for Ireland; but, when it came to the upshot, only nine were pricked, and the rest all departed two days before the progress. Sir Henry Wotton had better luck, for he comes away confirmed provost of Eton.

I have not heard of Captain Conway, to whom you referred me in your former letter, since his coming, more than that he, and a younger son of Mr. Secretary's, were knighted lately. Also Monsieur Mayerne, the physician, had the honour before his going over; and also one Burroughs—that is Norroy king at arms—keeps the records at the Tower, and was sent to fetch home the Countess of Arundel. The Lord Say is made Viscount Banbury; but upon what account, or for what service, I cannot learn. His neighbour, Sir William Cope, is in the Castle of Oxford for debt, and for seeking to escape from the sheriff, who had used him kindly, upon his word and promise to be true prisoner. I am very sorry for him both ways, for the old love and good-will I have long borne to the house.

Your cousin, the Lady Smith, is like to thrive better, being at this present offered a very fit match, for years, blood, estate, conformity of studies somewhat poetical,

besides many other conveniences; and, which is most of all, one so enamoured of her and her virtues, that she may make her own conditions. The gentleman is generally well approved, and is son and heir to Sir Francis Barrington, but a widower.

The last week, the Earl of Holderness married Sir William Cockaine's daughter, with £10,000 portion, and a better penny, as they say.

We have speech, that the Lord Delawar shall marry Sir Thomas Edmondes' (the lord treasurer's) eldest daughter. Alderman Gore, that should have been our mayor next year, died the last week, and his elder brother (but the younger alderman) is to succeed him. Sir Robert Seymour, one of the tellers, Sir William Carteen's eldest son, that married one of the Stanhopes, and Mainwaring, that bore the seal before the lord keeper, are gone the same way. But the most speech is of the Lady Craven, who is said to have left a great estate, £8000 land a-year, to her eldest son, £5000 to her second, besides a great wealth otherwise.

Sir Edward Herbert is come out of France, in hope to be vice-chamberlain; but Sir Edward Barret makes great means for the place. I hear now Sir Albert Morton is certain and assured of the French employment. The voice goes with Sir Robert Naunton to be master of the wards; but they say he pretends higher, to be treasurer, upon promise he should have a better place than that he left, both for preferment and profit. But he must remember the old proverb, that all promises are either broken or kept, and so must Sir William Beecher, who is to have £2500 upon the fall of the first of the six clerks, in recompense for Eton, and to keep his clerkship of the council to boot.

The Viscount Purbeck followed the court a good while in very good temper, and there was speech of making him a marquis, that he might go before his younger brother; but I hear of late he is fallen back to his old bias, and worse.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 7, 1624.

Our East Indian merchants were somewhat revived the last week by the arrival of the Dolphin, a ship of good burthen, laden with silks, indigoes, calicoes, and such other commodities. But, in the mean time, the St. George's, one of the best merchant ships of England, of 400 or 500 tun, with 32 pieces of ordnance, is seized upon at Naples, whither she was fraught, by one Ricot, a stranger, that hath all the factory Burlamachi was wont to have, upon the pretence that the Marquis Inojosa had bargained with him, and bought it at his being here, which he denies. But howsoever they juggle between them, the ship is lost for us, and we, according to the old motto, *Video et taceo*, see it, and say nothing; as likewise the Dunkirkers rifle our ships at sea as familiarly as if open war were proclaimed, whilst we protect theirs in the Downs.

The Earl of Middlesex is earnestly called upon for £30,000, in discharge of his whole fine; and if he pay it not out of hand, it will go worse with him. His lady hath been an importunate suitor and solicitor, and followed the progress so long till she was forbidden. They would fain resign their impost of sugars, which they have for fifteen years, worth £4000 a-year, in lieu of this reckoning, but it will not be accepted.

The progress is now so far off that we hear little thence, but only that there be many sick of the spotted ague, which took away the Duke of Lennox in few days. He died at Kirby,[1] a house of young Hatton's, leaving six sons and four daughters. His lady came three hours before his decease, and before he was past sense and memory. His body was brought to town, and buried yesternight at Westminster, as honourably as the time would admit, all the nobility hereabout being bespoken to attend it. Judge Hatton[2] is said to be dead, who was one of the most sufficient and honest lawyers among them all.

[1] In Northamptonshire.

[2] Sir Richard Hatton, made one of the justices of the Common Pleas, May 3, 1617. This announcement of his death was premature.

Sir William Cope hath removed himself from the castle of Oxford to the Fleet, and makes means to have leave to go down to his house at Hanwell, to entertain the king, that comes back that way. Your cousin Lytton was knighted at Bletso, sore against his will, as he would have the world believe. Indeed, his wife wept for anger, or curst heart, to come thus in the fag-end, specially after two of their near kindred knighted the day before, Sir Oliver Lake's and Sir Miles Fleetwood's sons.

Here is a whispering of a lady, who hath been a widow above seven years, though she had lately two children at a birth. I must not name her, though she be learned, and in print.

Secretary Calvert droops, and keeps out of the way. It was reported the last week the seals were taken from him, but I hear it not confirmed. Sir Henry Wotton went down to the election at Eton, but so ill provided, that the fellows were fain to furnish his bare walls, and whatsoever else was wanting.

Sir Isaac Wake was overtaken at Turin with the gout. He hath written to his lady to prepare herself, and be ready at his second summons, which she guessed may be about a month hence, if that be not too late, as, in truth, she is very weak and tender, and altogether unfit for a winter journey.

Fifteen or sixteen hundred of our soldiers lay there [at Gravesend] a long time for passage, stowed in ships, and in great want and misery.

I doubt not but you have heard how our lords colonels are marshalled. The Earl of Southampton is to have place and precedence in the field and martial actions; the Earl of Oxford, and the rest in their rank, in all courtly and civil meetings.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, August 21, 1624.

I perceive by your nephew's letters that all our lords and gallants are arrived, and that the sickness increaseth at Delft and elsewhere. We had here 328 died this week,

a greater number than hath been these fifteen or sixteen years, and yet no mention of the plague. God keep it from among us, for we are in danger. But this spotted fever is cousin german to it at least, and makes as quick riddance almost. The Lady Hatton hath two or three of her children sick of it at her brother Fanshaw's, in Essex, and hath lost her younger daughter, that was buried at Westminster on Wednesday night by her father; a pretty gentlewoman, much lamented.

The Lord North's second daughter died likewise at Tonbridge Wells, whither she went with her mother, but before she had tasted of the waters; which, with divers others, as at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, at Nonsuch, and other places, are come of late in great request, whether it be but opinion, or that this hot and dry year makes their virtues the more.

The Lady of Kensington and her mother[1] are likewise there, for I know not what foolish idle infirmity. She is not yet a countess, as I wrote, but it seems to depend upon the success of the French match; which, as all other our businesses, is said to be but in an aguish humour, with a good day and a bad.

The Lady Craven was buried here on Tuesday, and had but a reasonable funeral, for perhaps the richest widow that ever died, of a London lady. The Lady Fanshaw is in Huntingdonshire with her daughters; where, I heard this week, that the Lady Bedell hath brought a boy, whereof she is not a little proud; as likewise the young Lady Trevor hath the same luck, after three girls. The Lady Winwood was not at her labour, though she came to town for the same purpose, for she was overtaken with an ague, and not without danger. But hearing that her only daughter was fallen sick of the smallpox at Ditton, and that they came not out currently, she left her bed, and went away on Thursday, though she were but in a weak case.

There was a mischance fell out at Ditton the week before, in a great thunder; five or six harvest-folks, to avoid the tempest, seeking to shelter themselves under an

[1] Widow of Sir Walter Cope.

oak, the greatest and fairest belonging to that park, or to be found in all that country, one of them was stricken stark dead, all the rest sore hurt or blasted, and the tree rent down from the top to the bottom.

You see what poor stuff I am fain to pick up to furnish a letter; for we have nothing from the court, but of a masque at Burleigh, made by young Maynard,[1] with no great approbation. Another was lately presented before the prince, at Killingworth, by Ben Jonson, whilst the king was at Warwick, but with what success we do not yet hear, because it was but two days since.

The French ambassador came yesterday to town from the progress, and meets the king again at Woodstock the next week. I know not whether he be yet persuaded, but, before his going down, he complained they dealt seriously with him about hunting and such trifles, but trifled with him about the main business.

There was a quarrel this progress 'twixt two of the Duke of Buckingham's followers, Crowe and Grimes, wherein one or both were hurt. Sir Richard Weston hath bought or hired Winchester House, in Broad Street, and is busy in tricking and trimming it up; whereupon, the voice goes strongly that he shall be lord treasurer, Sir Robert Pye, chancellor of the exchequer, and Sir Walter Pye, master of the wards; for the king takes exception to the president and Sir Robert Naunton for either of those places.

I doubt not but you have heard of our famous play of Gondemar, which hath been followed with extraordinary curiosity, and frequented by all sorts of people, old and young, rich and poor, masters and servants, papists and puritans, wise men, &c. churchmen and Scotsmen, as Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Albert Morton, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Sir Thomas Lake, and a world besides. The Lady Smith would have gone, if she could have persuaded me to go thither. I am not so sour nor so severe, but that I would willingly have attended her, but I could not sit so long, for we must have been there before one o'clock at farthest to find any room. They counterfeited his person to the

[1] Probably Sir John Maynard, who subsequently attained such eminence as a legislator and as a judge. He lived to a great age, dying in 1689.

life, with all his graces and faces, and had gotten, they say, a cast suit of his apparel for the purpose, and his letter, wherein the world says there lacked nothing but a couple of asses to carry it, and Sir George Petre or Sir Tobie Matthew to bear him company. But the worst is, playing him, they played somebody else, for which they are forbidden to play that, or any other play, till the king's further pleasure be known: and they may be glad if they can so escape Scot free. The wonder lasted but nine days, for so long they played it.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, September 4, 1624.

We have here but a sickly season, which is easily seen by the weekly mounting of our bill, which is come this last week to 407, and yet we will be acknown of no infection. Indeed, by the particulars, we find about 250 of them to be children, most of the rest carried away by this spotted fever, which reigns almost every where, in the country as ill as here, whereby it should seem that these hot and dry summers do not agree with our English constitutions. Some have found out a far-fetched speculation, which yet runs current, and would ascribe it to the extraordinary quantity of cucumbers this year, which the gardeners, to hasten and bring forward, used to water out of the next ditches, which, this dry time, growing low, noisome, and stinking, poisoned the fruit. But that reason will reach no further than this town, whereas the mortality is spread far and near, and takes hold of whole households in many places.

Young Sir William Pope, that married Sir Thomas Watson's daughter, is lately dead, and hath left a fine widow, with three or four children. The Lady Greisley was buried the last week at St. Martin's. Sir William Bird died here the other day, and could not be persuaded to make a will. He is generally so well spoken of, that his successor in the place, Sir Henry Martin, will have much ado to make it good. Sir James Croftes, our oldest pensioner at court, and Captain Gainford, our newsmonger

and maker of gazettes, are gone the same way. Sir Edward Barret, Sir Nicholas Kempe, and the Lord of St. Albans, are yet in the balance to rise or fall.

Here be many strange and foul mischances happen daily. Mr. Backhouse, the merchant's eldest son, is now arraigning for killing a sergeant soldier in a tobacco shop. Two brothers of Gray's Inn, son to Sir —— Ellis, of Lincolnshire, falling out upon some light quarrel, the elder hath slain the younger. We may well think we live in a wicked age, when so many unnatural and inhuman facts are in trial at one session. The son for murthering the mother. The mother for drowning her own daughter, of nine years old, and one brother for killing another.

We hear out the west country of eleven Turkish pirates[1] on the Severn side, that have taken divers prizes, and carried away many prisoners from the land.

Our East Indian Company have presented many petitions, and sent divers of their company this progress after the king, to remonstrate they cannot subsist, but must give over the trade, if they be no better protected. What answer soever they have, they seem not satisfied, and think Secretary Conway somewhat partial, and leaning to the other side.

There was great sport at Woodstock, at the hunting of Cropear, a noted and notorious stag, whose death was solemnized with so much joy and triumph as if it had been some great conquest, there wanting nothing but bells and bonfires.

Arthur Brett was released out of the Tower on Wednesday; but with commandment not to come within ten miles of court: which is also enjoined to the Earl of Middlesex. Whereupon I hear he is removing to his house in Hertfordshire. His fine is said to be thus dispensed:— £10,000 to the navy, £10,000 to the wardrobe, £10,000 to the stable; and I know not how much more to the Earl of Holderness. Whether this be so I know not, for I write nothing but hearsay.

[1] The coast was infested with such gentry, for want of a proper naval force to look after them: but our merchants were not better protected, as the next paragraph shows. What a change had taken place since the decease of Elizabeth!

The king comes this night to Windsor. The Lord of Buckingham and his lady met him there from New Hall, where he feasted the French ambassador this week, and dined here with him this day sevennight, when he came to town to christen his brother's, the Earl of Anglesey's young daughter, at Fulham. The voice goes he hath agreed with the Lord Zouch, to resign to him his place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.

I heard yesterday, that Sir George Goring should be gone into France, with a final conclusion of that match one way or other; and withal, that the Lord of Carlisle and Lord Kensington draw not one way in that business, or, at least, not by one line. Sir Robert Naunton either is already, or in great probability to be, made master of the Wards. I hear now the Lord Percy came last night out of France, with good news, as is presumed.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 9, 1624.

I have been airing myself almost these three weeks at Ware Park, and now the term calls me to town sore against my will; for the country is so pleasant, and the weather so temperate, that the like hath not been seen many a day; which is the more welcome, for the hot and dry summer had so parched and withered all things, that it is a double pleasure, besides the profit, to see the later spring more fresh and flourishing than the first, with such plenty of all manner of fruit, specially quinces, which happens rarely, that I never knew the like quantity, nor more fair and cheap. For I myself bought eight for a penny; and the best rate for the fairest is not above half a crown for a hundred. This advertisement is for my lady, that she may imagine what a world of sweetmeats and what conclusions she might have made and tried, if she had been here.

This town continues sickly still, for this week there died 347; which yet is less by almost a hundred than they were a fortnight since. But yet, in consideration of the danger, the parliament is put off from the 2nd of November to the 15th of February.

On Monday, the Spanish ambassador, Don Carlos Collona, went hence without kissing the king's hand, as he desired, leaving the new agent, who is well seen, and much made of. Whereupon some suspect there is a new kind of negotiation afoot; and that somebody by their will would follow the old bias, and look back into Egypt. But the report goes that matters are well forward in France, and that the Duke of Buckingham is to go there speedily; though perhaps those that be there must give place first, that the honour may be all his.

The prince is not yet so fully recovered of his fall,[1] but that those that see him and mark him suspect some secret bruise; which perchance is but out of their abundant care and tenderness towards him, which appears by the ringing of bells and bonfires the 5th of this month, as an anniversary remembrance of his happy return the last year.

Our papists begin to hold up their heads again; for whereas writs had gone out to inquire of their lands and arrearages, for not paying according to the statute; letters have gone down to suppress that course, and if any have paid, to restore it, it being, as it is said, the first article of this new alliance, that no Romish Catholic be troubled or molested for their conscience, in body or goods.

You have Count Mansfield with you, and we expect him here again shortly, for they say he is to have hence 8000 English and 4000 Scots under six regiments, whereof the first stands in question 'twixt the Earl of Lincoln, and the young Lord of Doncaster. The Lord Cromwell[2] is to have the second. Sir Charles Rich, the third, whose lieutenant is to be your acquaintance, Mr. Hopton, that married the Lady Steven; the fourth is allotted to Sir John Burrough. Colonel Gray and one Ramsey are named for the Scots. God speed them well whatsoever they do, or wheresoever they go: but it is beyond my experience or reading to have such a body of English committed and commanded by a stranger, to say no more.

On Saturday last, one of the Dunkirkers, besieged by

[1] He had lately met with an accident.

[2] Thomas, fourth baron, created in the next reign Viscount Lecale and Earl of Ardglass, in the Irish peerage. He died in 1653.

the Hollanders in the Downs, suddenly hoisting sail, escaped away, but was followed by four or five of the Hollanders. What became of them God knows, for that night fell out one of the fiercest tempests that hath been lately seen; for the next morning our streets were covered with tiles, and as thick in some places as they used to strew rushes. We hear of great damage done, and many ships lost, to the number of three or four and twenty, in the Downs; and the Antelope, a ship of the king's, 'scaped narrowly, and was forced to cut down her main-mast, and all her tackling. We hear the rest of the Dunkirkers in this confusion got away; as likewise, that divers coal ships of Newcastle are lost, and two French ships, and two English, at Weymouth; besides some loss at Plymouth and other places, whereof we have not as yet the certain knowledge.

About a fortnight since, our old friend, Sir Michael Dormer, died of a fit of his old disease, the palsy. On Monday, Sir Robert Naunton had his patent delivered, and was sworn master of the Wards by the lord keeper. The Earl of Somerset's pardon was sealed on Thursday, in as ample a manner as could be devised;[1] and he hath taken a house at Chiswick, but with promise not to look toward the court. The Earl of Middlesex's fine is now come down to £20,000, which must be paid presently, and so he shall be quit.

The lord chief justice[2] is in speech to be lord treasurer; which, if it fall out, he is not like, poor man! to supply the place long, either by reason of age, or some other defect. The Lord Zouch hath parted with his place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to the Duke of Buckingham, for £1000, present money, and £500 a-year during his life; so that Sir John Epsley is like to be Lieutenant of Dover, though Sir Dudley Digges expected it, upon promise, or what other reason I know not. But the gentleman, though he deserve well, hath ill luck that nothing will fall to his lot.

[1] This pardon seems to have been delayed, to prevent suspicion, but it is clear the whole matter was arranged at the time of the trial.

[2] Sir James Ley.

I hear now of more harm done by the late tempest at Portsmouth, where the sea brake into the town, and hath overthrown two bulwarks and a good part of the rampart, that will hardly be repaired at the cost of £1000. At Plymouth likewise, the father, mother, and a child, were killed in their beds by the fall of a chimney; and the king's ship that brought the jewels out of Spain suffered much, and was near lost.

Here hath been a rumour these three or four days that Gondomar is to come hither again; but I cannot believe it, unless I see it. For, though perhaps they think that no man knows the length of our foot so well as he, yet no sufficient provision can be made, but he will be baffled by the people.

Towards the end of the last month, the Lady Wake took her journey for Venice, attended by Grace, Faith, and Fortune, her three maids, which is a good omen to be so accompanied. I dealt with her, before my going into the country, to forbear the voyage till the spring, in regard winter was so nigh, and of her own weakness and tenderness to travel in hard weather. But she was so resolute that she would not be persuaded; but said she would go, though she were sure to die at Dover. For, if God took her, he should find her in her way; which was good meditation, and worthy of a virtuous wife.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to the Earls of Carlisle and Holland.

London, this Monday night late, being October 11, 1624, stylo Angl.

Upon Saturday, in the evening, I arrived at Boulogne, in good hour, as your lordship will have understood from Mr. Carre; and would have the same night have continued my journey to the gates of Calais, but that the wind turning fair invited me to embark there, which, after some five or six hours refreshing myself in expectance of the tide, I did, and put forth to sea, where we had not advanced above two leagues, but we were so becalmed for nine or ten hours together, as there was no moving one way or other. Against Heaven, it was a folly to be impatient; and yet I was almost so foolish. At length, by signs and

becks to a fisher-boat, which we descried a great way off, I found means to put myself ashore, and so took post to Calais, where, finding the weather calm, and that little wind that was stirring turned quite contrary, I had no means to pass unless I adventured myself to a shallop, which I did at sun-set on Friday evening, and arrived at Dover, half-starved with cold, on Monday morning, betwixt four and five of the clock, and entered into London just as the clock struck three. Here I understood that his majesty was gone to Royston, but that his highness, my lord duke, Mr. Secretary Conway, were or would be all here the same evening. By four, I waited on Mr. Secretary, from whom one of the first questions was, whether he expressed himself unto your lordships clearly enough, yea or no. I was loth to make my mouth the first witness of his obscurity; and therefore, declining the direct answer, restrained myself to the last letter, and told him that it put your lordships to some stand to see his majesty come fully home to the French king's demands for the match, and yet restrain the signing the articles to a condition of first procuring others for the league, or at least an act in writing. Whereunto, he presently replied, that he therein obeyed his majesty's commandment, who had no intention that one should be done without the other; and both his majesty, his highness, and my lord duke, had had the perusal over of that letter more that once; and added, that clearly your lordships had favoured that king beyond your commission, which enjoined you first to treat of the league, and then of the alliance, or at least to make them go hand in hand together. But resumed again his first question, whether his despatches were at any times intricate. Whereunto, finding myself pressed either to speak truth or lie, I thus helped to disguise the former to him, that he sometimes so cautiously and prudently involved his meaning in a close and covered style, as forced your lordships to assemble your wits together to pick it out. By his troth, he swore there was no such prudent considerations in it; but, if there were any darkness, it was unwittingly and contrary to his desire, which was to give the perfectest light; and that he reserved copies of all, which I should

see, that I might instance in some particulars, that so he might know the better how to mend the fault hereafter.

This struck me dumb, and gave him leisure to read over the despatch, wherein he often interrupted himself by suddenly uttering forth these words, "Before God, I fear all is spoiled, and that we shall suddenly break upon this difference." I desired his honour to have the patience to finish it, which he did, not without some other such like repetitions; and, in the end of all, confirmed to me his aforesaid fears, that we were like to come to a sudden rupture; and that within this month, Gondomar would be here, with new offers, powerful enough, in the Spanish party's conceit, to prevail. Here I delivered him your lordship's letters of credence, which prepared his ear to listen to my relative of the offers, which, by Mr. Guerdon's news, without nominating the person, were conveyed to you. And these I commended, by all those motives and reasons, which your lordships furnished me with, or my own understanding could suggest unto me. But the same voices of despair sounded still unto me, that all this could not serve the turn, nor deliver his majesty from just apprehensions that this match so offered, not only with a simple refusal of a league, but a flying back from their own word and promise, was rather out of a design to ruin him than to strengthen him: and that it was an ordinary practice amongst many great princes to think their daughters or sisters well disposed, if they might thereby be able to compass their own ends.

He here asked me whether I had letters for his highness or my lord duke. I answered, yes. He further inquired of me, whether I brought not a double of this despatch to him. I told him your lordships had enfolded none within your letters to them; but yet I had brought the foul copy with me, because, if the king and prince should be at different places, your lordships were desirous I should make lecture thereof to his highness likewise; the rather, that if any occasion of question might arise upon any particular, I might be able to resolve it. He thereupon replied that he would go presently and perform that himself; and would call upon the duke, that, if his grace

thought fit, that he might make the lecture to both together, and that thereof might be present, and deliver to either my letters likewise. I feared to offend, if I had, by any different motion, gone cross to this command, and therefore I obeyed, and had the honour to go along with him in his own coach. But the despatch was first read to them in private, and I only admitted afterwards to deliver my letters, which was after a long attendance, to me especially, that had not tasted one morsel of meat since I came from Boulogne.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to the Earls of Carlisle and Holland.

Monday, at midnight, October 21, 1624.

My former letter contains a true relation of all that passed betwixt Mr. Secretary and me. I referred that which followed, upon my admittance to the prince and duke, for another letter apart, that, if your lordships thought fit to show the other to any, they might therein read no other characters but those of despair.

Being therefore admitted into their presence, his highness commanded me to deliver what your lordships had been pleased to commend to me in trust, which I did so fully and effectually, as the duke, interrupting me, told the prince that this was much better than what Fiat[1] had told him, and his highness confirmed it by an affirmative. After I had ended all, I added, that, if his majesty pleased to condescend to these conditions, in case he should find an impossibility of getting better, your lordships would then be so much the bolder to press all things home to the uttermost extremity, as having a present remedy at hand to solder up that breach which eagerness of despatch might otherwise occasion. His highness and my lord duke both applauded the course, if so be his majesty should like of it; and agreed on Wednesday to go expressly to Royston, to communicate these things with him, and to know his pleasure therein. I herein craved leave to interpose this caution, that if his majesty consented to the motion, yet that a quite contrary countenance might be put on, and

[1] D'Effiat.

the Marquis de Fiat carefully entertained in despair; because otherwise your lordships' endeavours would be quite frustrate; and besides it would have far better grace that the sweetness of the conclusion might flow from his majesty by his own instruments, your lordships, than by a stranger, who perhaps might draw the greatest honour and thanks thereof unto himself, as having extracted it by the industry of his own wit. This his highness and my lord duke presently assented to; but with an *if still*, if it might once be brought to the point.

I cannot deduce things more particularly, for the messenger departs early in the morning, and I am now too much oppressed with sleep.

I have not yet seen the French ambassador nor Sir George Goring, nor had leisure to discharge any other commandments, than what I have hereby given your lordships an account of.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, October 23, 1624.

But that I lately received your letter dated the 30th of the last month, I had no meaning nor mind to write now, that we have so little matter, our whole discourse and entertainment being busied on the success of your affairs on that side, who go on very slowly, it seems, and keep not pace with our quick apprehensions, which will not conceive that it can be no otherwise, now the wars are come to that pass, that they are managed more by the spade than by the sword. We begin to misdoubt Breda; upon what ground I know not, unless it be the remove of the prince from his first quarter. For if the corrantos say true, they are largely provided of all things necessary to hold out a long siege. But those that would seem to know more than ordinary, make a question of it, and rather affirm the contrary; and withal, lay a double charge upon his excellency, for giving the enemy so much time to accommodate himself, which at first might easily have been hindered; and then for not disburdening the town

of their unprofitable people, if there were any fear or suspicion of want.

Touching the enterprise of Antwerp, it is no marvel if it did not succeed, seeing scant one of twenty such surprises hit right. Yet we must shoot our bolt, and say, if it had been committed to any other but that dull nation, it had been in a fair way. Thus you see the greatest soldiers are subject to the vulgar's opinion, who, with Phormio, dare undertake to read a lecture on war, even before Hanibal.

The prince and Duke of Buckingham went to Royston some ten days since. How welcome they were I know not, but they came before they were looked for. The Spanish agent was in show to get leave to recover the ordnance in the Dunkirker lost in the Downs; but we say he came away without audience, by reason the king is pained with an ache in his arm or shoulder.

The heat of Count Mansfeld's employment is somewhat assuaged; and I am deceived, but if we may live quietly at home, we shall not greatly care how the world goes abroad.

The French match goes on by fits, and the Lord of Carlisle grows so weary, that he hath written for leave to come home. The young lady is forward, and this week sent one over with her picture to the prince, and when any rub or stop comes in the way, she grows melancholy and keeps her chamber.

The lord chief justice's treasurership is at a stand. Some doubt he is not rich enough to give a fine, but others think a yearly rent might supply that turn. Sir Edward Barrett is in speech again to be vice-chamberlain, without any gratuity, more than the reversion of his land, as some say, after his own life and his lady's, which were as good as a round sum of money.

The lord keeper comes little at Westminster Hall this term, being troubled with the fluent disease of the time; which is a great hindrance of business, and to mine among the rest, which hangs still in suspense, and can get neither forward nor backward.

On Monday, there was some translating of judges. Sir

William Jones was called from the Common Pleas to the King's Bench, and Sergeant Harvey was made judge, in place of Justice Chamberlain, who is to go back again into Wales, because the lord president and Sergeant Whitelocke cannot agree there together.

Upon the death of the Earl of Thomond,[1] the government of Munster is like to light on Sir Edward Villiers, though Sir Richard Morrison have the reversion of it. But he is grown so weak, both in mind and body, that he is not held fit for such an employment.

Secretary Calvert is still upon resigning, and one Cooke, master of Requests that was some time, or some way belonging to the Lord Brooke, is, in speech, to succeed him.

I saw a strict proclamation, printed yesterday, in confirmation of two or three former, for lords and gentlemen of quality to retire to their country dwellings; which is thought to be somewhat a hard condition, for men to be, as it were, continually confined to their own houses; and it is the way to beggar this town quite; which needs not, seeing here is so small appearance already, by reason of the sickness, which continues between 300 and 400 a week.

Sir Arthur Ingram was fetched up by a pursuivant out of Yorkshire, where he was in all his glory, to answer an account about the alum mines, wherein he is found short to the value of £50,000; which, if it fall foul upon him, is like to break his back.

Ten or twelve of the king's ships are making ready against January, with provision of victuals but for a month. We cannot guess for what purpose, unless it be to meet with our master, your Mayeners, seeing we can have no other reason at their hands.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, December 18, 1624.

The French ambassador went hence the last week; the first night to Theobalds, the next to Royston, and so on

[1] Dermod, 5th baron. He died December 29, 1624.

Thursday was sennight to Cambridge, where they had audience the next day, both public and private. The articles were agreed and signed. The king, prince, Duke of Buckingham, and Secretary Conway only present; the rest of the council, though almost all the great lords were there, not so much as called or inquired after. There should have been a comedy, but the shortness of the time, the king's indisposition, and their hasting away, cut it off. Some disputations in philosophy there were, but of no great fame. Many of the strangers had their grace to proceed *Magistri in Artibus*, *Doctores Theologiæ et Juris;* and in the crowd some English, among whom, I hear, your nephew Dudley is become a new Master of Arts. On Sunday, the ambassadors were feasted in the presence, by the prince; for the king kept his bed. The rest of their retinue dined in the great hall at Trinity College, where the king lies, with the lords and council. They came back on Tuesday, and supped the next night with the lord keeper, where they had great entertainment, and choice chamber music, and in the church, where they heard three anthems sung by the best of the chapel and that choir, in rich copes and vestments, wherewith they seemed to be much pleased, till Mr. Treasurer[1] somewhat unreasonably told them, he was glad to see them allow and approve so well of our service, and that upon their Christmas-day; which put the little Mounsieur so out of countenance, to think that he had committed an error, that he sat sullen, and spake not a word all supper. On Thursday, they were feasted by the Earl of Warwick; and that afternoon visited the Duchess of Richmond, who, to keep her state, and grace her audience, assembled all the ladies of her acquaintance.

I cannot forget one good passage of hers, though not at that time, that in discourse of the Lady of Southampton's loss,[2] and how grievously she took it, she used this argument, to prove her own grief was the greater, for, quoth she, I *blasphemed;* a witty speech forsooth, and worthy to be put into the collection of the Lord of St.

[1] Sir Thomas Edmondes.
[2] Henry, Earl of Southampton, had lately died in the Low Countries.

Alban's "Apothegms," newly set out this week, but with so little allowance or applause, that the world says his wit and judgment begins to draw upon the lees. He hath likewise translated some few psalms into verse or rhyme, which shows he grows holy towards his end. If I could meet with a fit messenger, you should have them both.

The king lies still at Cambridge, for aught I hear, pained with the gout in his hands and arms. When he removes, it is appointed to Royston, and so northward.

On Saturday, Sir James Ley was made lord treasurer, and the Earl of Montgomery and he sworn together of the council. We hear yet of no great alteration toward, save that hath changed his grave velvet nightcap into a golden coif. It is observed as strange, that we have four lord treasurers living at once, four lord chamberlains, four secretaries, three masters of the wards; two keepers, or chancellors; two admirals, if the Lord of Nottingham be not dead, as they say he is; *et sic de cæteris* in several places and offices.

The new Countess of Sussex was said to be dead, as likewise the Countess of Oxford with you; but we hear lately they are both upon recovery; and the opinion of the Lady of Sussex's being with child turned to a tympany.

Sir Fulk Conway, brother to Mr. Secretary, having his house in Ireland burnt about his ears, by negligence in taking tobacco, and escaping the first fury of the fire, would needs venture in again to save certain writings or papers, but came so singed and stifled with the smoke, that he died presently, leaving better than £2000 land a-year in the country, to descend to Mr. Secretary, for aught we know.

The Lady Purbeck is sick of the smallpox, and her husband is so kind, that he stirs not from her bed's feet.

I hear of a suit in Chancery 'twixt the Duke of Buckingham and his two brothers, about certain lands of the Lord Grey, made over to them in trust, as he says, but they understand it otherwise. The Lord North's daughter is to be married to the Lord Dacres, which is no great fortune nor preferment for so fine a gentleman to have a widower, with two or three sons, at least.

We hear of great entertainment at Turin made to the Lady Wake, set down to an inch, being such as hath been seldom or never afforded to one of her quality; but we must ever believe the last to be best. Our soldiers are marching on all sides to Dover. God send them good shipping and good success! But such a rabble of raw and poor rascals have not lately been seen, and go so unwillingly, that they must rather be driven than led. You may guess how base we are grown, when one that was pressed hanged himself for fear, or curst heart; another ran into the Thames, and, after much debating with the constable and officers, when he could not be dismissed, drowned himself; another cut off all his fingers of one hand; and another put out one of his eyes with salt.

Sir William Brounker hath a difference with Count Mansfeld, whereupon he forsakes the service, and speaks not the best of him.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 6, 1624-5.

On Friday last, the last come French ambassador who obtained the releasing out of prison all priests and Jesuits, went hence homewards. The same day, by commission, was held a college of the Knights of the Garter, the prince and others of them being in their robes, when, first, Duke Christian, of Brunswick, was chosen, admitted, and invested into the noble order, dined with the king and prince, and on New Year's-day, in the morning, departed hence towards Dover; as did also the Earl of Lincoln on Monday last.

There was likewise (I mean, on Friday) three other Companions of the Garter chosen, but not yet invested; as namely, the Earls of Salisbury, Holderness, and Carlisle, which last is daily looked for out of France.

It seems our soldiers are not yet this month to pass over into France. They are exceedingly unruly, which caused a commission to be sent thither for martial law upon exorbitant offenders.

It is said, there is a messenger sent hence unto the

archduchess at Brussels, to demand restitution of Frankendale, and leave for our army to pass through her countries to the Palatinate. There be above 100 men at work in repairing the lodgings at Dover Castle.

There is not yet any certainty when the duke[1] goes into France; but it is thought scarce yet these six weeks, if then. Howbeit, we say, his grace makes exceeding great preparations for the journey, there being to accompany him six earls, ten barons; and to attend him are 100 gentlemen, to each of which he gives £100 for their furnishing (besides many voluntary knights and gentlemen, that are to depend upon his grace), twelve pages, twenty footmen, twenty or twenty-four sumpter horses—the sumpters to be all covered with embroidered velvet, the half of red, the other of ——.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, January 8, 1624-5.

I marvel how that rumour should rise, touching Tom Carew[2] and the Lady Smith, for I believe she scant knows him; for I never met him there, nor ever heard her, or any one about her, so much as mention him. But God hath provided better for her,[3] and I hear they live very kindly and lovingly together.

The king kept his chamber all this Christmas, not coming once to the chapel nor to any of the plays, only in fair weather he looked abroad in his litter, to see some flights[4] at the brook.

The Duke of Brunswick went hence on New Year's-day, after he had tarried just a week, and performed many visits to almost all our great lords and ladies, as the Lord of Canterbury, the lord keeper and the rest, not omitting Mrs. Bruce, nor the stage at Blackfriars. The Duchess of Richmond admitted him with a proviso, that he must not offer to kiss her; but what was wanting in herself was supplied in her attendants and followers, who were all

[1] Buckingham.

[2] Afterwards celebrated as a poet. He was gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and sewer in ordinary to Charles I.

[3] By her marriage with Sir Thomas Barrington.

[4] Of hawks.

kissed over twice in less than a quarter of an hour. We have much talk of the Diana of the Ephesians, and her magnificence in going to her chapel on Sunday last, at Ely House, to a sermon preached there by Dr. Balcanqual, where she had her closet and traverse, her four principal officers, steward, chamberlain, treasurer, and comptroller, marching before her in velvet gowns, with their white staves, three gentlemen ushers, two ladies that bare up her train, the Countess of Bedford and Montgomery following with the other ladies two and two, with a great deal of other apish imitation. But all this greatness will not bring down the Lady Hatton's high stomach, but that she contests with her, and hath many questions about their bargains, and the house; because she could not obtain the gallery to feast the Duke of Brunswick, he was fain to do in an unhandsome lower room; but when it came to the dancing, they threatened to make their entry by force, and break open the doors, if they found them shut. The Duke of Brunswick cannot complain of his entertainment, which was every way complete; very good and gracious words from the king, with the honour of the Garter, and a pension of £2000 a-year. The prince lodged him in his own lodgings, and at parting gave him £3000 in gold, besides other presents.

The Earl of Salisbury was made Knight of the Garter with him; and I hear a third is sent to the Lord of Carlisle to content him, for that it was thought he lingered after home, and was somewhat earnest for leave for that purpose.

We are still upon creations, and every week, almost, brings forth some new nobility. The Lord St. John, of Bletso, is made Earl of Bolingbroke, and Sir Francis Fane, of Westmoreland. And you would hardly believe what labour and vying there was for the precedency of a day. The lord treasurer is made Baron Ley, of Ley, in Somersetshire; and Sir Edwin Hobart, in reward of his services, Baron of Castle Island, in Ireland. Sir Edward Barrett is to be vice chamberlain. The Lord of Cromwell is become an Irish Viscount of Lecale; and rich Robarts,[1]

[1] Sir Richard Robarts. He was created Baron Robarts by the influence of Buckingham, who exacted £10,000 from him.

of Truro, in Cornwall, is to be made lord of somewhat, and his son to marry Mrs. Hill, one of the kindred.[1]

I hear of another that is to be made a great man shortly, that once within these seven years dreamed of no such matter. But men must not stand too much upon their merit and abilities, seeing preferment comes not always that way, but rather to those whose parts sort and agree best with the humour of the time. Secretary Calvert, they say, hath his dismission, but not empty-handed; for John Cooke, it is thought, shall succeed him, who hath lately married an alderman's widow.

Our soldiers about Dover, and in their way thitherward, commit many foul outrages, and live, as they say, at discretion; and all the way, as they passed, spoiled, as if it had been in an enemy's country, which was not wont to be so. But either our people are grown more barbarous, or there is no good order taken to provide for them. Howsoever it be, it shows we are but young warriors, and there goes more to the furnishing and setting out of an army than bare pen and ink. We hear they have mutinied already, so that Count Mansfeld durst not show himself among them. He sent the last week for £20,000 more, over and above £55,000 he touched before, otherwise the action was marred, and he could not proceed. The king sent the letter to the council of war. What shift was made I know not, but it was provided and sent. We wish him gone, and in action, for many reasons, specially that our men do not consume with doing nothing, as they have done with you this year in the Low Countries.

We should have had a masque on Twelfthnight, but it was put off till to-morrow, and perhaps longer, or altogether, as it was the last year. The king goes on Monday to Theobalds or Hampton Court. This warm, mild weather makes our weekly bills continue high, about 220.

Mrs. Jones, Ned Jones's widow, died here the 1st of the month; and the same day, one Kendrick, a proper merchant, and a bachelor, who hath given away two or three and thirty thousand pounds in legacies: £8000 to Reading, where he was born; £5000 to Newbury; and £2400

[1] Of the Duke of Buckingham.

to his Company of Drapers; £900 to the Merchant-Adventurers; £10,000 to the reparation of Paul's; the rest to other good uses, kindred, and friends.

I send you here certain verses of the Lord of St. Alban's, and a paper of instructions from Sir Edward Scorie to a friend of his, to woo for him. I cannot directly say they were his, but they go about in his name, and agree very well with his humour and condition.

Sir Isaac Wake and his lady are safely arrived at Venice, and Mrs. Apsley is to be married to her lord this next week at Eton.

Mrs. Ashburnham,[1] a kinswoman of the Duke of Buckingham, was married this day sevennight, at court, to Sir Edward Deering, of Kent.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 21, 1624-5.

Sir Robert Naunton hath not the title of secretary, as was said, but is master of the court of Wards, and restored to the council board. Sir Albert Morton either hath the office or title of secretary, but is to go into France to be Leiger thither for three years. Mr. Gataker[2] is yet in the Fleet; and, this day sennight, we had two lecturers suspended: Mr. Rowles for refusing to subscribe with the rest, and Mr. Dennisson for maintaining that in Mr. Elton's posthumous book about the lawfulness of private communions.

[1] Anne, daughter of Sir John Ashburnham.

[2] Mr. Gataker himself, in his "Discourse Apologetical" against William Lilly, printed at London, 1654, in quarto, page 53, remarks, that he had been for a short time imprisoned in the Fleet, whence, in the king's absence, he was released by the Earl of Manchester, then president of the privy council, through the mediation of Sir Charles Montagu, his lordship's brother. He adds, likewise, that he was afterwards, by his majesty's special command, for a longer time confined to his house, and so restrained from his pastoral employment, in reference to an epistle or preface prefixed to Mr. Elton's catechism, published after Mr. Elton's decease, in which business, says he, "others far greater than myself, even the archbishop himself, were aimed at."

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, January 28, 1624-5.

Here is not any speech when the duke goes over, nor I presume will be, till Sir George Goring's return from France. The parliament is adjourned till March 15. The Archbishop of Spalatro, after his death, was burnt at Rome. The Earl of Lincoln[1] coming from Dover on Sunday night, was here in the morning after. The cause we know not, but probably upon the news of the desperate sickness, and since death, of the countess dowager,[2] or of his own lady.[3]

Sir Robert Naunton, master of the court of Wards, is restored to the council board, and Sir Albertus Morton made one of the principal secretaries of State, which may perhaps divert his other intended employment of going for three years Leiger into France.

There is a warrant for a new press here of 2000 men; the moiety of the city and liberties, the other in the out suburbs. And in remote places is a press for Ireland of substantial men for age and quality; and, at the farthest, to be ready for embarking by the last of this month.

At Salisbury, were eleven of the runaway soldiers condemned, and some of them hanged.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

I heard it of some courtiers, that Gondomar's sending his secretary was but a compliment, and that they do not think he will come at all, for he was expected within three days, and it is now three weeks since.

Mr. Walter Montagu came on Monday from France, brought news that the Duke of Buckingham should be entertained by the French king for thirty days. Whereupon the duke, with a great part of the earls and lords which are to accompany him, are said shall set forward thither the next week.

[1] Theophilus Clinton, the fourth Earl of Lincoln of that name.

[2] Elizabeth Ann, and daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Knevit, of Charlton, in the county of Wilts, knt.

[3] Bridget, daughter of William, Lord Viscount Say and Sele.

Murray, who killed Gibson, hath received his trial at Surrey assizes, and it is found by the jury that he did it *se defendendo.*

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, February 5, 1624-5.

I cannot yet hear that Count Mansfeld is gone; but this delay causeth strange conceits, yea, and makes men talk wildly, that all our preparations will come to nothing, which they imagine at London the rather for that there having been now lately a ..... press in Surrey, when the lieutenant came to the council to know how to dispose of his men, they asked him, who bade him make such haste? He, showing his warrant, where was written, "Haste, haste for life," they were silent, and bade him dismiss them till further order. This I was told by one that came out of London on Thursday; who added, withal, that they talk there that the council of war is made acquainted with nothing. But I suppose these tales are gathered up in the streets, and therefore I will yet, till I see the contrary, hope better.

Some say there went a commission down to Mansfeld on Wednesday; whether they mean his commission for the landing and employing his forces I know not, but I think so.

Rev. Thomas Lorkin to the Earls Carlisle and Holland.

February 12, 1624-5.

I had despatched away this account two or three days sooner, but that I was partly in expectation of some farther order from court, and partly in hope of preventing the speed of any other by mine own diligence. But as the former is like to frustrate, by the order La Rivière pretends to have received of delivering his majesty's letter to the French king himself; which, together with the copy enclosed, being put into my hands by Mr. Secretary Conway late last night, comes now demanded by him this morning in Mr. Secretary's name (though I refuse to give

it till I receive an express from his honour's own mouth), so in the latter I find myself deceived, by being cast into such an intricate about your lordship's supply, as I can see no sudden issue out. For though his majesty hath, upon my Lord of Buckingham's recommendation, carefully solicited by Mr. Secretary, been pleased to grant a warrant for £12,000, the lord treasurer seconded it by another to the attorney, and he made his draught for the signet and privy seal, yet this stops a little at the king's signature; and I find, besides, the Exchequer so empty, and the difficulties of getting money so great, as (notwithstanding all fair language my lord treasurer gives me, and that cordial, I think, and such as deserves your lordship's thankful acknowledgments) I fear somewhat the expedition. Yet to redeem my providence as much time as may be, I am busy in the interim with the merchants to stipulate for the return, requires a new care, since (as the exchange goeth, and especially for the quick remitting of so great a sum) I apprehend much loss.

This being premised, by way of excuse, I leave your lordship's particular, and come unto the public. Wherein, first for Mansfeld's business, you may please to understand how his majesty was content with a very short account, because it was fully determined before I came. So that all which remains for your lordship to do in this point is, as far as I can learn from his grace, to press what is possible the hastening away of the cavalry to join with the infantry.....till it be—how well soever the family shall be composed, and the dispensation cleared, which will be your lordship's second task—the noble duke intends not to stir from hence.

For the word *Liberté* in the *escript particulier*, his majesty is pleased to leave that to your Lordships' discretion, and will think it a good piece of service, if you can obtain that be rased out: yet would not by any means that it should be pressed, to cause any ill blood or bad correspondence between the two crowns; for that were to destroy part of his design, which aims not only at a marriage, but an amity. And this will do well to be cherished by a friendly closure of the business, so to sweeten any little

harshness that may have passed in the precedent negotiation. And to this resolution his majesty is the rather swayed by the judgment he makes of the value of the word, which, being merely relative to what was meant in contemplation of the treaty with Spain, carried with it a great deal more show than substance. It is in effect the charge I received from his majesty's own mouth, to derive unto your lordships. And, to speak truth, much cannot be expected from any thing that is concluded in that relative form, since your lordships can remember, that the commissioners pleaded for it by this argument, that they know not how little they obtain thereby, the bounds being locked up in his majesty's own breast, and desired it rather as a colour to content the Pope, than for any great tie they thereby pretended to fasten upon the king.

The speedy accomplishment of Monsieur D'Effiat's [desire] will give great content, and is specially recommended by his grace to your lordships' care. I think there cannot be a more powerful argument to enforce it than from the transcendent expression of kindness which his majesty's letter imports, to persuade to a reciprocal demonstration of affection, and that as in other more essential points, so in this, of sending the ribbon to his majesty, that he may gratify the ambassador therewith. There yet remains one commission, which I am to deliver from my lord duke to both your lordships jointly, that is in his name to desire you to quicken, as far as cleanly and handsomely you may, the performance of a purpose, which he is informed that king (and either the queen-mother or the cardinal) hath, of presenting his grace with pictures; which will be made more welcome, if they come before his journey, than if they follow after.

I shall only add this for news, that Sir Albertus Morton is sworn secretary. That the cardinal denies, in a letter to Monsieur D'Effiat, what your lordships advertised about the consultation and resolution touching the prince's reception, in case his highness should pass over into France; and desires to know the author of that imposture—that is his term. What farther passed betwixt the ambassador and me upon this subject, I shall reserve till I have the

honour to attend your lordships, when I shall acquit myself of a great many other particular commands to either.

I had forgot to let your lordships know how infinitely satisfied his majesty and highness are with Madame's kind reception of the present, and the demonstrations of her affection upon that occasion.

I come now from Mr. Secretary, with whom pleading against the delivery of your letter to La Rivière, he silenced me, by showing me a commandment under the duke's own hand, now thereto, as it is like, by the suit of the ambassador, that thereby he might the better facilitate his own affairs.

From Denmark, there came news yesternight, as good as his majesty's own heart could wish. The particulars I cannot learn. I may not omit one thing, which both my lord duke and Mr. Secretary recommend, that, in any future negotiations with the ministers, your lordships trust not to words only, but procure it under their own handwriting.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 12, 1624-5.

Matters for the most part go here so untowardly, that I take no pleasure in the remembrance, much less in the blazing them abroad, or continual complaining, which might seem to savour of some malignant humour, or of a malcontent. But the main hindrance [to my correspondence of late] indeed, was the continual care and travel I took in following a suit in Chancery, which had almost wearied my body, my mind, my purse, and my friends; but I thank God I had a final end of it this day sevennight, which, though it was not altogether as I wished, yet it was such as I will not greatly complain of, seeing I am rid and released from a great deal of trouble, with so little loss as for £567 to go away with £400. And I do bear it the better, because I observe the course of that court to be seldom to give any man all his pretentions and demands. And in truth I am so little partial to myself or mine own cause, that I found it in mine own judgment *cas pour amy*, as Montaigne speaks, so as my lord might have leaned to

the other side with equal show of justice and equity; but rather because it hath been foiled with ill handling, so as I account it now out of the fire.

I doubt not but you have heard of the Lady Purbeck and her fair issue; which business hath exercised this whole town now a good while, and will pose all that deal in it, if she stick well to her tackling, and maintain her ground that it is her husband's, specially if he continue to avow it, as they say he doth. There be many passages too long to recite, but this must not be omitted, that the Lady of Suffolk gives out her son Robert,[1] the reputed father, to be insufficient, and so not liable to such a scandal. The young lady is kept somewhat straitly, so that none of her friends or acquaintance come near her: yet she carries herself with such resolution, that she shows herself to be her mother's own daughter.

The lord president's son, young Montagu, hath buried his wife, who hath left him a little daughter. The Lady Cope is become a widow again by the death of Sir Thomas Fowler; but whether she hath gained or lost by the bargain, I cannot learn. Sir William Clarke is gone at last, though at great leisure. I hear not of any great legacies, but left all in a manner to his son Will, that is out of danger of being a ward. Would you think, that in his greatest weakness, means was made with some importunity, that he should marry the French Lady Cary? But he had the grace to hold out.

The Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Hampton, is lately dead, and Dr. Usher, Bishop of Meath, made lord primate, in his place. Sir Edward Villiers is to go shortly into Ireland, to be Lord President of Munster. The lord deputy, it is thought, shall not tarry there long. Justice Winch, of the Common Pleas, died the last week of an apoplexy; and yesterday, Sir George, or Sergeant Crooke, is made judge in his room. On Thursday, Sir Randolph Crew was sworn lord chief justice of the King's Bench, which was deferred so long that the lord treasurer might have the dividend and benefit of this term. It is said that Sir John Suckling is to resign to Sir John

[1] Sir Robert Howard

Butler his place of comptroller, for £5000, that cost him £7000.

Secretary Conway is here in town, and hath not been at court since the king went, whatsoever the matter is. They say he shall shortly be made a lord, or a viscount, or more. Sir Albert Morton is not yet returned from Newmarket, though I hear he be sworn, and hath the seals delivered him by Sir George Calvert, who had £3000 of him, and is to have as much more, somewhere, besides an Irish barony for himself, or where he list to bestow it, for his benefit.

Young Hungerford is made a baron *en payant;* for this is the true Golden Age, no penny, no *pater noster.*

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, February 18, 1624-5.

Sir Robert Howard[1] is said to be, by the lord chief justice, committed close prisoner to an alderman's house; and it is thought to be about Lady Purbeck's business.

Last Lord's-day, after the sermon at the Cross, was Mr. Elton's book on the Commandments, and a little book of Mr. Dennison's, burnt for containing schismatical doctrine of the Lord's-day and administration of the sacrament.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, February 26, 1624-5.

Lord Belfast died on the 13th, who hath left a great estate of land and goods in Ireland, whereto Sir Edmund Chichester, his youngest brother, succeeds. His government, with one of his companies of horse and foot, are given to one Hamilton, a Scottish man; his other company of horse, to a young son of the lord deputy's; whereas, such charges were more fit for men of service and experience in a kingdom so fickle and ready to revolt.

[1] Knight of the Bath; fifth son of Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir to Sir Henry Knevit, of Charlton, in Wilts, knight.

Yet it seems we hope better of them, if it be true that is said, that Viscount Rochford is named to succeed the new lord deputy.

The Lady Purbeck, with her young son, and Sir Robert Howard, are committed to the custody of several aldermen, Barkham and Freeman, to be close kept. When she was carried to Sergeant's Inn, to be examined by the new lord chief justice and others, she said she marvelled what those poor old cuckolds had to say to her. There is an imputation laid on her, that with powder and potions she did intoxicate her husband's brains, and practised somewhat, in that kind, upon the Duke of Buckingham. This they say is confessed by one Lambe,[1] a notorious old rascal, that was condemned the last summer, at the King's Bench, for a rape, and arraigned some year or two before at Worcester, for bewitching my Lord Windsor's ——. I see not what the fellow can gain by his confession, but to be hanged the sooner. Would you think the Lady Hatton's stomach would stoop to go seek her Lord Coke, at Stoke, for his council and assistance in this business? She hath another cross, likewise of late, that upon her continual clamour and complaint, how she was straitened in her lodgings at Hatton House, and what a bargain the Duchess of Richmond had of it, with offer to take it again; the duchess taking her at her word, hath left it on her hand; whereby she loseth £1500 a-year during her life, besides £6000 the duchess pretends to have of her, which was given for a fine, and bestowed in walls, walks, and other reparations.

We hear that Mansfield's troops are almost half starved. If it be so, *majus peccatum habent*, that should have made better provision, and taken better order for them. It will quite discourage our people to be thus sent to the slaughter, or rather to famine and pestilence. The time hath been, when so many English as have been sent into those parts, within these six or eight months, would have done somewhat, and made the world talk of them. But I know not how, we that have been esteemed in that kind more than other nations, do begin to grow by degrees less

[1] Afterwards murdered in the street of London by the people, in June 18, 1628.

than the least, when the basest of people in matter of courage dare brave and trample upon us. I have known the time, when they durst not have offered the least of those indignities we have lately swallowed and endured But they presume upon our patience and somewhat els[e] otherwise they would have showed some resentme[nt] given some sign of their dislike of such barbarous cr[u]..y[2] by some notorious example upon the authors and actors, and not suffer the chief instrument, the fiscal, to walk up and down Amsterdam untouched, without anything said to him, as we hear he doth, and turn us over for satisfaction till the return of I know not whom, out of the Indies, God knows when. But they are every way too cunning for us, and know that *chi ha tempo, ha vita;* and understand every way to the wood. But now, forsooth, here be letters of marque given out against the East Indian Company. But I doubt our ships will see them, and not see them, and upon far-fetched considerations forbear. But *fiat justitia, et ruat mundus.* I am the longer in this and more earnest, for more reasons than one, specially (which I cannot dissemble) that you are taxed to be somewhat *tepido* in the business; and withal, for that I see they have almost lost the hearts of their best friends here, which their countrymen here perceive well enough, and apprehend too much, so far forth, as to fear some ill May-day (which God forbid). And therefore informed the council, last week, of divers ill presages; among the rest, of a sermon newly printed, but made long since by one Wilkinson; which I know not what relation it can have to this late accident (for I have not read it), but the epistle or preface, made by a minister, is bitter enough; then there is a play, or representation of all the business of Amboyne, ready to be acted, and a large picture made for our East Indian Company, describing the whole action in manner and form. Whereupon, the council gave order that the picture should be suppressed, the play forbidden, and the book called in; and withal, for a strong watch of 800 men extraordinary, against Shrove-Tuesday, to see the city be kept quiet.

[1] The notorious cowardice of James. [2] At Amboyna.

Indeed, your magnifico of Venice[1] sends you great news of his reception, as much as if I should detail to you the lord mayor's going to Paul's with his torches, on Candlemas-day. Such another piece of work I have from him, of his grace, wherein there is not a word of his wife, my ancient valentine; which I will take leisure to answer.

Our parliament is like to hold on the 15th of the next month.

Sir George Calvert, or Lord Baltimore (which is now his title), is gone into the North, with Sir Tobie Matthew; which confirms the opinion, that he is a bird of that feather.

On Thursday, Sir Thomas Wentworth,[2] of Yorkshire, married the younger daughter of the Earl of Clare.

We hear that Gondomar hath lately sent a man of his own with a packet to the king, who, as they say, of late receiveth and readeth all despatches from abroad.

The Earl of Bristol comes to town this night, having taken Sir Thomas Watson's house, at Westminster, though the common voice assigned him another lodging. But it is said now, the king will have him shortly reconciled to the prince, and the Duke of Buckingham, without any repetition of former matters. Posts run continually 'twixt us and France; but no further conclusion hitherto than was almost four months since; the reason whereof is said to be, for that the dispensation is clogged with unreasonable conditions; and withal, the French would have the king and council all sworn to observe articles. God send all for the best; but *vix Helena tanti*, and I should be sorry to see us brought so low as to accept whatever is imposed.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 4, 1624-5.

On Saturday came hither the Earl of Bristol, who, it is said, shall be reconciled to the duke. That day also came

[1] Sir Isaac Wake.

[2] One of the celebrities of the following reign. Known in history as the Earl of Strafford.

Gondomar's secretary, with letters from his master to his majesty, the prince, duke, &c. It is said, the letters import he brings peace and the Palatinate's in his pocket, and desires safe conduct with one of the king's ships to fetch him from Calais, as also to have a house appointed for him; and that he writes merrily to the duke, that when he comes they must fight, but the place of their meeting shall be his grace's own gallery.

On Saturday here, likewise, was the highest spring-tide that in thirty or forty years hath been remembered, whereby much hurt is done here in merchandize, and along the river on both sides in cattle.

Sir Humphrey Tufton,[1] and Mr. Murray, of the prince's bedchamber, brother to his highness's late secretary, meeting on the same Saturday in St. George's Fields, to fight upon a falling out at a stage-play, they by consent departed without fighting till some other time, when they might do it privately, and none see them. The reason was, that Tufton, having first appointed with seconds, afterwards sent word it should be single; yet came Mr. Gibson, another Scotsman, the king's servant, a skilful cannoner, and who had in reversion the master-gunnership of England, and should have been Mr. Murray's second into the field, walking a good way off to observe the event, and wherefore Tufton would not then fight, lest he might be wronged: so Tufton went thence one way, and Murray another. Unto whom Gibson came; reproached him (Murray) for not fighting; said he had shamed his nation; that his sirname should ever hereafter in all men's mouths be *coward;* drew secretly his sword; and thrust Murray through both his cheeks. Hereupon Murray also drew, and thrust Gibson into the belly; who, before he fell, gave Murray two wounds in the body. Gibson died that night; and Murray, not desiring to live, died also on Tuesday following, at night.

Furthermore, on Saturday came Mr. Maynwaring, or Manning, the prince's servant, unto Mr. Palmer's, at

[1] Of Bobing, and the Moat, near Maidstone, Kent, Knt. and Bart., who died in October, 1639, aged seventy-six. He was third son of Sir John Tufton, Bart., and brother of Sir Nicholas, created Lord Tufton in 1626, and Earl of Thanet in 1628.

London Bridge, as he often used to do. After awhile he went into a chamber, made fast the door at the inside, took a wainscot frame out of the window, stripped himself naked, laid aside his rings, leaped into the Thames and was drowned, whose corpse is not found. The cause of his desperation is diversely spoken of.

On Monday, Dr. Prideaux, vice-chancellor of Oxford, having, at the Earl of Montgomery's lodging, near the Cockpit, bestowed three days in catechizing the young Lord Dormer[1] and the Lady Anne Herbert,[2] and the last Sunday administered the Lord's supper unto them, then married them by special licence of the archbishops; of which young lord much good is conceived, though his mother be an absolute recusant, and his other brother like to prove so, if any thing at all.

On Tuesday, between one and two in the morning, died the Lord Marquis of Hamilton, not without suspicion of poison, as is said; because after death his whole body, with neck, face, head, swelled exceedingly, and was strangely spotted. The young lord was then so dangerously sick also at the Countess of Bedford's, at More[3] Park, that he could not come unto his father before his death.

Rev. Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville.

Christ College, March 5, 1624-5.

The enclosed will tell you, that my Lord Belfast is gone. The same letter tells us, that Gondomar is coming for England, hath already sent his secretary to the king for a safe conduct. Great talk is of him; and some men's diffidence so great, that they think there is no bulwark strong enough against him, but that he will mar all.

The drum beats at London for voluntaries, to reinforce our companies that went last summer.

I send you the process against Spalatro, sent in a letter from Rome to my lord archbishop: but something more

[1] Robert, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon.

[2] Anna Sophia, eldest daughter of Philip, Earl of Montgomery, and afterwards Pembroke, by his first wife, Susan, daughter of Edward, Earl of Oxford.

[3] Near Ricksmansworth, in Hertfordshire, the seat of Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

than is there. A friend of mine had a letter from Italy of the same business, which tells, that Spalatro being put into the inquisition, and expecting his trial, which would have gone hard with him, by a preventing grace he was allowed to die; that is, was poisoned by way of favour.

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 12, 1624-5.

I have not heard of your nephew Dudley since Sunday was sevennight; that he went to Shore Park, to the Lady of Bedford's, and thence was to go the next day to Theobalds for his despatch, which should not be long a-doing. But I marvel the more, that the Duke of Buckingham having been here in town twice or thrice in this space, he hath not appeared, nor any word of him.

The day I wrote last being the 25th of February, here happened a great disaster, by reason of highest tide that hath been known in the memory of man, which did great harm in Thames Street, and all along the river side, insomuch that Westminster Hall was full three feet in water all over. But the greatest loss we hear of is the drowning of the marshes, and overthrowing the walls in Kent, Essex, Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and other places near the sea, to an exceeding desolation, which had been more if it had fallen out in the night, as it did in the day-time, whereby they had means to save their cattle, and such other like goods.

The Marquis Hamilton died on Ash-Wednesday morning, of a pestilent fever, as is supposed, though some suspect poison, because he swelled immeasurably after he was dead in his body, but specially his head. Upon the opening of both, the physicians saw no signs of any such suspicion, but ascribe the swelling to some malign or venomous humour of the smallpox, or such like, that might lie hid. Four nights afterwards his body was carried, with much company and torchlight, to Fisher's Folly, his house without Bishopsgate, there to be conveyed into Scotland. He is much lamented as a very noble gentleman, and the flower of that nation. The Papists will needs have him one of

theirs, which neither appeared in his life nor in his death, that we can anyway learn; but it is no new thing with them to raise such scandals and slanders. The council-table will have a miss of him; and the Lord Belfast, who went cheerfully away, and said he was never more willing to live than he was now to die, as foreseeing a ruin not to be avoided but by a miracle.

This hath been a dismal year to great men by the loss of two dukes, four earls, and I know not how many lords; besides a number of our citizens of the best rank.

The Duchess of Richmond is retired from Hatton House to the other part of Ely House, where she hath her Lenten sermon as orderly thrice a-week, as they are at Whitehall, and with as much variety of preachers.

The Lady Purbeck's business is come to this pass, that all matters of sorcery, witchcraft, and the like, being let fall, she is only prosecuted for incontinency in the spiritual court and high commission, where she hath taken her oath to answer certain articles. But Sir Robert Howard would by no means be induced to swear; whereupon, he was committed close prisoner to the Fleet. On Thursday, they were both convented again before the commissioners at Lambeth, where Sir Robert persisted in his former resolution, and withal claimed the privilege of a parliament man, which, I think, was yielded to. She was willed to put in bail, or go to prison, for that Alderman Barkham desired to be rid of his charge. She answered, that, if he were weary of her, she was not weary of him, where she found so good usage. But, for putting in of bail, she said she knew not how to do it, her friends having so forsaken her, that she doubted whether they would do it. Then she desired she might have counsel, which being granted, she required the Lord of Buckingham would give her money to fee them; for she had nothing, nor knew where to have any. This was the sum of what passed then, and they were to appear there again this day. I doubt she hath a hard task in hand, and that she will find *summum sus*, though they give her good words to draw her to conformity.

On Shrove-Monday, the Lord Dormer was married to

the Lord of Montgomery's daughter; and we talk of a marriage towards, 'twixt the Earl of Warwick and Alderman Holliday's widow.

Sir Thomas Richardson and Sir Thomas Crew are become the king's serjeants, in lieu of Sir Randolph Crew and Judge Crooke.

The French match is still *in nubibus*, and few or none know yet what to judge of it; for our great ambassadors themselves are said to write contradictories. In the mean time, they lay it on, and we as ill idle of expense as if we were lords of the Indies, or as if the cause were to be won by bravery. Villeauxclerc, that was lately here, is said to do ill offices, and to press points that amount to a toleration, in confidence that we are so far engaged, that we must yield to anything. Wat Montagu is sent away with some resolution, which, what effect it will produce we shall see hereafter; but sure the proceeding grows cold, after so many bonfires, unless Gondemar's coming quicken the business. A ship of the king's and a pinnance are making ready to fetch him at St. Sebastian's; and there is a whispering that he comes not unwelcome or unsent for.

Secretary Conway is somewhat off the books, as the voice goes, and will shortly retire to his government in the Isle of Wight, with a title of Viscount Newport, or, as some say, to be Deputy of Ireland, and Sir John Coke is in speech to succeed him. But these are idle rumours that run up and down with little or no ground; yet, if it should so fall out, these sudden preferments would be held but slippery places.

The king was overtaken on Sunday with a tertian ague, which continues yet, but without any manner of danger, if he would suffer himself to be ordered and governed by physicians' rules.

To the Rev. Joseph Mead.

London, March 18, 1624-5.

Mr. Montagu, the Lord Mandeville's son, is returned from Paris, and, as report goes, with pleasing news, as

that the French king desires only a little forbearance till his messenger return, that went back to Rome with the Pope's dispensation and our king's exceptions to it, which, if the Pope expurge and clear, it is well; otherwise, the French king will, nevertheless, proceed without it. And about the middle of April, to have her either set forward or before. Hereupon, I hear, they begin again this week to go on with the finishing of the new chapel at St. James's, and to make it ready for the lady.

It is said, Count Gondomar's secretary was denied one of our king's ships to fetch his master, but had a safe conduct for his secure coming hither by sea, and is therefore gone to Plymouth, there to hire a ship for that purpose. His coming is said to be only a new overture for the Palatinate's restitution and retaining of trade between us and Spain; but surely withal, of purpose to procure more delays, till all their forces may be made ready.

The preparations of our great fleet, and of eight good warlike ships manned here, to be sent unto the French king (one of them being our king's), goes on amain.

His majesty's tertian is said yet to continue.[1]

John Chamberlain, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carleton.

London, March 23, 1624-5.

Your nephew Dudley came from court on Tuesday night, and yesterday I had only a sight of him. The despatch of your business holds him longer than he looked for; but I was ever of opinion it could not be done in haste, as well for other reasons, as for that the Earl of Bristol is not resigned, nor is not to come to town, whatsoever I heard or wrote, till he be sent for, or till the next term, at soonest. The Duke of Buckingham prepares for France with all speed; for Wat Montagu hath brought word that all is there in great forwardness, and assurance given that the young lady should be ready to be delivered at the end of thirty days from his parting, which time was taken to send to Rome for the qualifying the dispensation in some points. And whether it should succeed or no, the match

[1] "Some say he hath fits of ten hours long."—*Note of Mr. Mead.*

was to proceed *au jour nommé*. But the king's indisposition may hinder our haste, if his fits leave him not the sooner; for, though they grow less and less, yet I do not think the duke will leave him till he see him perfectly recovered, whereof there is great hope, but no assurance.[1]

I hear no more of Secretary Conway's retiring, but all things go on as they did; only Sir Humphrey May is come in as a pretender or competitor to Sir John Coke.

Would you think, our old friend Fabritio puts in for it likewise; or, if he miss that, to be Dean of Canterbury, wherein he hath neither show or pretext, but that his great uncle,[2] a civilian, was so before him. But the present dean must be better provided for before these projects can be accomplished.

The Lady Purbeck's business possesseth the high commission very much every week, wherein she acquits herself reasonably well hitherto. On Thursday last, one Bembridge, a servant of the Lord of Canterbury's, was committed for speaking in her behalf, and how hardly she was used, to one of her adverse proctors, who, complaining presently, he was sent away, and she called him one of her martyrs. Sir Robert Howard was excommunicated openly at Paul's Cross, on Sunday last, for contempt in refusing to answer. The Earl of Anglesey[3] is become the prosecutor of this cause, and all goes now in his name.

[1] He died on the 27th of March.
[2] Dr. Nicholas Wotton.
[3] Brother-in-law to the Lady Purbeck.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

Page 2, line 24—" Budæus, the learned Frenchman."

Guillaume Bude, the author of a translation of Plutarch, the treatise " De Asse," and " Commentarii Linguæ Græcæ." He was secretary and librarian to Francis the First, and died in 1540, at the age of seventy-three.

Page 9, eighth line from bottom—" The Archbishop of Spalato."

It should be " Spalatro;" this error occurs in several places.

Page 26, twelfth line from bottom—" The Lord Stanhope's daughter."

This lady was Catherine, daughter of John Lord Stanhope, of Harrington. Her husband, a baronet, was advanced to the Irish peerage on the 29th of June, 1611, as Viscount Cholmondeley, of Kells, and subsequently, for military services during the Civil Wars, was created Baron Cholmondeley and Earl of Leicester. He died October 2, 1659.

Page 47, line 12—" Archbishop Whitgift."

John Whitgift was born at Great Grimsby, Lincolnshire, in 1530, and having been educated for the Church at Cambridge, where he was Professor of Divinity and Vice-Chancellor, he became chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, and subsequently, rising from one preferment to another, became Archbishop of Canterbury. He died in February, 1603-4.

Page 47, line 15—" Mr. Hooker."

Richard Hooker, the well known author of " The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," a work written to defend the Reformed Church of England from the attacks of the Puritans. He died November 2, 1600.

Page 71, fourth line of note.

After " iniquity" introduce " disclosed."

Page 204, line 3—" My lord mayor's daughter, married that morning to my Lord Effingham."

Charles Howard, afterwards second Earl of Nottingham, took for his second wife Mary, eldest daughter of Sir William Cockayne. He died in 1642.

Page 219, line 19—" Sir John Suckling."

Father of the poet. He was member for Norwich, and afterwards comptroller of the household.

Page 231, ninth line from bottom—" The Earl of Lincoln."

Theophilus, fourth earl, a zealous Royalist during the Civil Wars. He was a Knight of the Bath, and officiated as carver at the coronation of Charles the Second. He died in 1667.

Page 249, note, sixth line.

Sir John Yelverton should be Sir Henry.

Page 259, seventh line from bottom—"Mr. Selden."

John Selden, the eminent antiquarian scholar, author of "Titles of Honour," and other works. He subsequently came forward very prominently in the proceedings of the House of Commons in the reigns of James, Charles, and during the Protectorate. He died in 1654.

Page 287, line 10—"Michael Janson."

Cornelius Janson, a celebrated Dutch portrait-painter, who was much patronized in England at this period. He afterwards returned to his native city, Amsterdam, where he died in 1665.

Page 307, seventeenth line from bottom—"Sir Richard Hawkins."

Son of Sir John Hawkins, one of the commanders who defeated the Spanish Armada, in which Sir Richard also distinguished himself, and subsequently increased his reputation by his bold attacks on the Spanish settlements in America. He wrote "Observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight, in his Voyage to the South Sea. A.D. 1593."

Page 388, line 16—"The Lord Vaughan."

Sir John Vaughan, who had recently been created Baron Vaughan, in the Irish peerage, which was followed by the title of the Earl of Carberry.

Page 422, twenty-seventh line from bottom—"The Lord Annans."

Viscount Annan, afterwards Earl of Annandale. He was master of the horse and gentleman of the bedchamber to the king. He died in 1640. At p. 443, second line, by mistake he is called "Lord Arran."

Page 434, sixth line from bottom—"Bethlehem Gabor."

Bethlem Gabor, a successful military adventurer, who became Prince of Transylvania and King of Hungary. He was an ally of the Elector Palatine in his contest for the crown of Bohemia, but without advantage to either. He died in 1629.

Page 453, fifth line from bottom—"Sir George Chaworth."

Afterwards created Baron and Viscount Chaworth.

Page 487, line 14—"Sir William Brouncker."

Afterwards Baron Brouncker, gentleman of the privy chamber to Charles I., and vice-chamberlain to his son when Prince of Wales. He died in 1645.

Page 506, line 15—"Wat Montagu."

Second son of the Earl of Manchester. He was much employed in foreign missions in the following reign; but, having embraced the Catholic religion, and become very zealous in the service of Henrietta Maria, he was banished the realm by vote of parliament in 1647.

THE END.

F. Shoberl, Jun., Printer to H.R.H. Prince Albert, Rupert Street.

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